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PLATO'S VIEW OF RHETORIC

Edwin Black

WHETHER Plato had a consistent view of rhetoric and, if he did, what that view was have been subjects of considerable debate among commentators and critics of the dialogues. The interpretive controversy of twenty-three centuries has so encrusted his ideas that, though we seldom seem to see them in the same way, it must be even more seldom that we really see them at all. Of course, Plato is difficult to understand. He is complicated, variegated, audacious, and sometimes paradoxical. The apparent elusiveness of his view of rhetoric, alone, has engendered a vast accumulation of commentary, with few of the commentators in substantial agreement on the defining characteristics of that view. Indeed, the only uniformity which crystallizes from this diversity of interpretation is the judgment that Plato disapproved of rhetoric, and was, in fact, rhetoric's most effective historical opponent.[1]

Fortunately, we still have the dialogues, their durability so manifestly established that they could not be hurt by one more fresh look. The objective of the present investigation is to attempt that fresh look.

It is inevitable that any expositor will approach a work from a certain point of view. His frame of reference may be subconscious and unsystematized, but it will assuredly be present, shaping the bias of his interpretation by influencing the direction of his attention, selectively sharpening some and dulling others of his sensibilities, and molding the nuances of his judgment in a thousand imperceptible ways. The critical presuppositions of this study can be simply and dogmatically put. They are that Plato was both a subtle and disciplined thinker and a subtle and disciplined writer, that he would not have allowed patent inconsistency or contradiction into the constantly revised body of his work,[2] and that the dialogues, as speculative inquiries, must explain and justify themselves independent of any cir-

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[1] See e.g., Everett Lee Hunt, "Plato and Aristotle on Rhetoric and Rhetoricians," *Studies in Rhetoric and Public Speaking in Honor of James Albert Winans* (New York, 1925), esp. pp. 18-42.

[2] If the dialogues themselves are not evidence enough of a systematic perfection of literary and philosophical technique, we have also the testimony of Dionysius of Halicarnassus that Plato "curried and combed the locks of his dialogues" to the end of his days.

cumstances impinging on their composition.[3]

Such are the premises from which the present examination of Plato's view of rhetoric will proceed. The dialogues in which the view itself receives its most elaborate and methodical treatment are the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus*. Plato's treatment of rhetoric is not confined exclusively to these two dialogues; on the contrary, his consideration of rhetoric bears relations with philosophical subjects treated throughout his extant writings. But these relations will develop and clarify as we explore the main body of Platonic rhetoric expounded in the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus*. The former is generally considered to have been the earlier written of the two and hence invites our scrutiny first.

The diversity of interpretations which have been placed on the *Gorgias* amply evidences its perplexity for Plato's literary interpreters.[4] It is curious that these interpreters, all excellently equipped for study in classical philology, and all having reference to exactly the same document, cannot agree on its meaning. The cause of the confusion does not seem to lie in any obscurity of statement in the dialogue. Rather, we discover what troubles the commentators the moment we compare the *Gorgias* with the *Phaedrus:* the former, satirical, contentious, and refutative, the latter emerging with a constructive, affirmative judgment clothed in the most majestic poetry. The

[3] Some commentators undertake to "understand" the dialogues in terms of events which are thought to have affected Plato. See: Theodor Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers. A History of Ancient Philosophy*, trans. Laurie Magnus, II (New York, 1901); George Grote, *Plato, and the Other Companions of Sokrates*, II (London, 1867); William Hepworth Thompson, *The Gorgias of Plato* (London, 1894), esp. pp. xiv-xviii. Such psychologizing is fascinating to read, but of limited utility in the interpretation of the dialogues. Likewise, Richard Weaver's "reading" of the *Phaedrus* in "The Phaedrus and the Nature of Rhetoric," *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (Chicago, 1953), is an interesting performance, but is so deficient in evidence as to be irrelevant to the study of Plato.

[4] Thompson, after quoting Olympiodorus approvingly, paraphrases him: "The aim of the Gorgias is to discuss the principles which conduce to political well-being. It [the preceding paraphrastic sentence] explains, at least to a considerable extent, the later as well as the earlier discussions; whereas if we assume that the main end of the dialogue is to bring the art of rhetoric and its professors into discredit, we can assign no significant motive for the importance assigned to a character like Callicles, who heartily despises the profession of a Sophist and hates the schools and their pedantry." Pp. xii-xiii.

Thompson asserts that the *Gorgias* was "the public vindication" of the conviction, held by a Plato disillusioned by the execution of Socrates, that "it was hopeless to amend the laws and practices of the Greek communities by any of the ordinary and constitutional means." P. xxx.

Herman Bonitz's interpretation of the *Gorgias* is summed up in the statement, "Schwerlich kann dann noch ein Zweifel sein, dass die mit Kallikles verhandelte Frage: 'ist Philosophie im Platonische Sinne, oder ist politische Rhetorik in ihrem damaligen thatssächlichen Zustande eine würdige Lebensaufgabe? den Kern und Zweck des ganzen Dialogs bezeichnet." *Platonische Studien* (Vienna, 1858), p. 33.

Bonitz's position is, in its general characteristics, shared by E. M. Cope, *Plato's Gorgias*, 2nd ed. (London, 1883). See esp. Cope's introduction; and Werner Jaeger, *Paideia: The Ideals of Greek Culture*, trans. Gilbert Highet, III (Oxford, 1954), p. 50. Both Cope and Jaeger take the references to "rhetoric" in the *Gorgias* to refer to all the activities of Athenian society associated with oratory, especially the practices of the courts, the aspirations of the young, and the popular systems of education.

Gomperz interprets the *Gorgias* as a literary counterattack against Polycrates, who was supposed to have written a lampoon of Socrates after the latter's execution. II, p. 343.

Eduard Zeller interprets the *Gorgias* as containing a wholesale condemnation of rhetoric as an instrument of Sophistical ethics. *Plato and the Older Academy*, trans. Sarah Frances Alleyne and Alfred Goodwin (London, 1876), p. 190. This condemnation is unqualified in Zeller's view, although when, in the same book, Zeller deals with the treatment of rhetoric in the *Phaedrus* (p. 515), he does not seem even to recognize a logical difficulty in his interpretation, nor does he attempt to resolve the question of how Plato can be read as unqualifiedly condemning rhetoric in one place and writing of it constructively in another.

Walter Pater argues that Plato opposed rhetoric, and opposed it because it represented to him the abhorrent Heraclitean metaphysics. *Plato and Platonism* (London, 1920), esp. chap. 4.

contrast is both striking and discomfiting. Have we here irreconcilably contradictory views of rhetoric expressed by the same author? The dilemma solicits resolution, and the commentators have responded by maintaining either that Plato changed his mind or that Plato did not mean by "rhetoric" in the *Gorgias* what he meant by "rhetoric" in the *Phaedrus*. The first position tacitly assumes that our author admitted a patent and obvious contradiction into his literature; the second position tacitly assumes that our author was inconsistent or, at the least, careless about his use of language. Since I hold that one should not adopt either of these assumptions in interpreting Plato except only as a last resort, after every more generous alternative has been vainly tested, I shall tentatively reject these possibilities.

One other difficulty besides the apparent difference in the moral attitude toward rhetoric expressed in the *Gorgias* and in the *Phaedrus* plagues the commentators. This other difficulty relates to the internal structure of each of the two dialogues, and presents itself to us in the form of two questions: What is the theme of the *Gorgias*? and What is the theme of the *Phaedrus*? If the *Gorgias* is concerned with ethics, why is so sizeable a portion of it devoted to the subject of rhetoric? If the *Phaedrus* is concerned with rhetoric, why is so much of the dialogue taken up with a consideration of love? Of course, these questions and those who ask them presuppose, without proof, that a literary work must have a single theme. One might reply to these questions by denying the assumption and asserting that in the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus* we have two dialogues with multiple themes. I shall not adopt this position at this stage of the analysis. The search for a single theme in a literary work can provide fruitful insights into the work. But the point is worth making that, after all, there is no binding fiat of literary activity nor any logical necessity demanding that a piece of writing, even a great piece of writing, and especially a dialectical inquiry, must have one and only one paraphrasable theme. The suggestion, once made, need not be pursued. It is enough to note for the present that determining the themes of the two dialogues is one of the major difficulties which commentators have found.

All major modern commentators on Plato's view of rhetoric, with the exceptions of Walter Pater, Paul Shorey, and possibly Werner Jaeger, design their interpretations of the *Gorgias* or the *Phaedrus* to deal with one or both of the difficulties mentioned. Troubled by the apparent inconsistency of the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*, they infer a change of heart and mind, and a concomitant modification of doctrine, by Plato. Or, troubled by an inability to assign a single theme to one or both of the dialogues, they redefine and expand the meanings of key terms to make the work fit themes which they wish to assign to it. Now, it follows that if these two difficulties can be resolved with more parsimony of assumption and with stricter adherence to the texts of the dialogues than has heretofore been the case, then the interpretations of the commentators will have been circumvented, for the problems which these interpretations were designed to resolve will have evaporated. Further, if these two difficulties are to be resolved, their resolution would involve a clear and accurate explication of Plato's view of rhetoric, which is the object of this inquiry. With these observations before us, we might begin the investigation of the *Gorgias* by determining what the term "rhetoric" means there.

2

The crucial passages in the *Gorgias* which deal directly with the definition of "rhetoric" occur in what might be called the first act, i.e., the conversation between Socrates and Gorgias. Pressed for a definition of "rhetoric," Gorgias defines this term as meaning the art of that kind of persuasion which is exercised before public assemblies and is concerned with the just and the unjust. Having elicited this definition, Socrates goes on to force from Gorgias the admission that sometimes rhetoric is used for unjust purposes. Since Gorgias contends that the rhetorician has knowledge of the just and unjust, or, at least, must have such knowledge before Gorgias will call him a "rhetorician," Socrates claims to have discerned a contradiction in Gorgias's position. It has been alleged by some commentators, Cope and Shorey among them,[5] that Socrates is made to argue sophistically in this portion of the dialogue. The main objection is that Socrates is incorrect in assuming that if a person knew the just and unjust, then he could not act but justly. As a matter of fact, there are strong reasons which Plato might have adduced to support this contention.[6]

Suppose the case of a man who enjoyed committing murder and who committed murder at every opportunity; yet, every time someone asked the man if he knew that murder was wrong, he said that he did. Suppose further that this man made no claims of acting under duress or compulsion, but chose to commit murder freely and soberly. Should we not conclude, in the presence of such evidence, that he did not really "believe" or "know" that murder was wrong? In assuming, as he did, that the rhetorician who knows the nature of justice and injustice will actually be just, Plato took the position that to understand a moral rule necessarily involves obeying it, since part of understanding the rule would be understanding its obligatory quality, i.e., understanding that it is a *rule*.

To dismiss the exchange between Gorgias and Socrates as a "conscious dialectical sport," as does Shorey,[7] is to ignore an important moral insight which Plato presented. Put in simpler terms, Plato's analysis of the Gorgian definition of "rhetoric" might run as follows:

If a person (the rhetorician) claims knowledge of the just, then it follows *as a necessary condition of having such knowledge* that the person will be just. What if Gorgias had refused to concede the point, and had instead contended that the rhetorician does not necessarily know the just? In that case, Socrates could contend that such a person could not possibly use rhetoric because, since part of the definition of rhetoric is that it is persuasion about the just and unjust, such a person could not know what rhetoric was and hence could not use it. So, Gorgias is obliged to concede that according to his definition of rhetoric, the rhetorician must have knowledge of the just and unjust. As a result of the arguments in the dialogue, we can see that Gorgias's definition implicatively claimed a moral feature for rhetoric which in fact rhetoric does not have. A logical consequence of the Gorgian definition is that there can be no such thing as morally bad rhetoric, or rhetoric which is unjust. Plato knew, as we know, that there is morally bad and un-

[5] Cope, pp. xlii-xliii; Paul Shorey, "The Unity of Plato's Thought," *The Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, First Series, VI (Chicago, 1904), p. 23.

[6] The assumption was evidently considered too obvious to require explanation. Cf. the concept of *phronesis* in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, esp. Book VI, chap. 12.

[7] *Loc. cit.*

just rhetorical discourse. It therefore follows that the Gorgian definition is false.

We must bear in mind that the definitions which Plato sought by the dialectical process were neither stipulative nor lexicographical definitions. They were what Richard Robinson calls "real definitions."[8] That is to say, when Plato sought a definition, he was not satisfied with a stipulation about how a term was to be used or with a report about how it was generally used; he sought, rather, a description of the nature of the thing designated by the term. Looked at in this way, we can understand how Plato could call a definition "false" in the sense that the definiendum was inaccurately described, while a lexicographical definition might be false only in an entirely different sense, and a stipulative definition could not be false at all.

It will assist our consideration of the *Gorgias* to amplify a bit more Plato's dialectical procedure. It is a procedure which is described in the *Phaedrus, Philebus, Cratylus, Sophist, Politicus,* and *Laws.*[9] Cornford gives the following account:

> The expert in Dialectic will guide and control the course of philosophical discussion by his knowledge of how to "divide by Kinds," not confusing one Form with another. He will discern clearly the hierarchy of Forms which constitutes reality and make out its articulate structure, with which the texture of philosophic discourse must correspond, if it is to express truth. The method is that method of Collection and Division which was announced in the *Phaedrus* and has been illustrated in the *Sophist*. Finally, to discern this structure clearly is the same thing as "to know how to distinguish in what ways the several Kinds can or can not combine." In other words, the science will yield the knowledge needed to guide us to true affirmative and negative statements about the Forms, of which the whole texture of philosophic discourse should consist. . . .[10]
>
> The meanings of common names and verbs are the Forms. Statements are not propositional forms but actual significant statements, existing while we utter them. The science of Dialectic does not study formal symbolic patterns to which our statements conform, nor yet these statements themselves. Nor does it study our thoughts or ways of reasoning, apart from the objects we think about. It is not "Logic" if Logic means the science either of *logoi* or *logismoi*. What it does study is the structure of the real world of Forms. Its technique of Collection and Division operates on that structure.[11]
>
> . . . Dialectic is not Formal Logic, but the study of the structure of reality—in fact Ontology, for the Forms are the realities.[12]
>
> The goal of Dialectic is not to establish propositions ascribing a predicate to all the individuals in a class. The objective is the definition of indivisible species—a Form—by genus and specific differences. What we define is not "all men" but the unique Form "Man."[13]

These cullings from Cornford's exposition should serve to clarify not only Plato's *modus operandi* in all the dialogues, but as well the way in which he deals with the Gorgian definition of rhetoric. When Plato sought the meaning of "rhetoric," he was seeking a series of true propositions about an existential class.

What does all of this imply for our analysis of the *Gorgias*? Primarily that all we have a right to infer from the first conversation between Socrates and Gorgias is that Gorgias's description of "rhetoric" has been overthrown. *Rhetoric in general has not been attacked.* Indeed, up to this point in the dialogue,[14] Plato has not written a single line about rhetoric, the Form. Plato's concern has

[8] Richard Robinson, *Definition* (Oxford, 1950), pp. 7, 8, 161, 162.

[9] *Phaedrus,* (section nos.) 265, 266, 270D; *Philebus* 16-18; *Cratylus,* 424C; *Sophist,* 226C, 235C, 253 ff.; *Politicus,* 285A ff.; *Laws,* 894AA, 936D, 965C.

[10] Francis Macdonald Cornford, *Plato's Theory of Knowledge* (London, 1935), pp. 263-264.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 265.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 266.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[14] *Gorgias,* 461.

been with Gorgias's description of rhetoric, and nothing else. Why has Plato given so much space to overthrowing a definition which he has put into the mouth of Gorgias? Of course, we cannot be certain of all his reasons, though we can be reasonably sure that they are not reducible to "conscious dialectical sport." The probability, suggested in somewhat different contexts by Cope, Bonitz, and Jaeger,[15] is that what Plato represents as Gorgias's view of rhetoric was widely held by influential and respected Sophists; it was a view with sufficient currency and respectability to seem to Plato to merit careful examination.

It is in the portion of the dialogue with Polus that Socrates is made to formulate the famous argument that rhetoric is not an art but is merely a knack like cookery, a counterfeit of a part of politics. This passage, like the one discussed above, has been widely interpreted as a wholesale condemnation of rhetoric. Such an interpretation is unwarranted by the text. We have, for example, within the passage itself clear indications that the "rhetoric" being dismissed as a knack is not *all* rhetoric. We find Socrates hesitating about making accusations against rhetoric with the comment, "I fear it may be somewhat rude to say the truth; for on Gorgias' account I am reluctant to speak out for fear he should suppose that I am satirizing his professional pursuits. At the same time whether this *is* the kind of rhetoric that Gorgias practises, I really don't know."[16] It is perfectly clear that Plato conceives of a rhetoric that is not open to this analysis since he suggests here that Gorgias might practice another kind of rhetoric. Later in the same dialogue, in the conversation between Socrates and Callicles, Socrates says, "So then it is to this [justice] that the genuine orator,[17] the man of science and virtue will have regard in applying to men's souls whatever words he addresses to them, and will conform all his actions; and if he give any gift he will give it, or if he take aught away he will take it, with his mind always fixed upon this, how to implant justice in the souls of his citizens and eradicate injustice, to engender self-control and extirpate self-indulgence, to engender all other virtue and remove all vice."[18]

It is impossible to maintain that Plato intended the *Gorgias* to be a total condemnation of all rhetoric as a "knack" and a "counterfeit of politics" when, in that very dialogue, he already sketches out some of the conditions of a rhetoric which would deserve the name of art. Obviously, the passage in which rhetoric is called a knack has been misinterpreted. The "rhetoric" referred to in the passage must be that which Gorgias has attempted to define. Plato's attack is limited only to a particular practice of rhetoric, and it is clear enough from the *Gorgias* alone that the attack was legitimate, deserved, and, given the Platonic theory of Forms, logically valid.

When we add to the evidence already adduced from the *Gorgias* the passage in the *Laws*[19] in which Plato, with a clear opportunity to condemn rhetoric as unscientific, waives the question of whether rhetoric is an art or a knack, and the passages in the *Phaedrus*[20] which lay down the conditions for rhetoric to be an art, we are bound to the conclusion that Plato did not intend

[15] *Loc. cit.*

[16] *Gorgias*, 462D. Unless otherwise indicated all quotations are from Cope's translation.

[17] The phrase is rendered, "true and scientific rhetor," by Paul Shorey, *What Plato Said* (Chicago, 1933), p. 503.

[18] *Gorgias*, 504C.

[19] *Laws*, 938A.

[20] E.g., *Phaedrus*, 263B.

his condemnation to apply to *all* rhetoric. At the risk of being repetitious, I shall reiterate that all we have a right to infer from the text of the *Gorgias* is that Plato opposed only a particular view of rhetoric unsuccessfully defended in the dialogue by Gorgias, Pōlus, and Callicles, and probably actually defended by leading Sophists and rhetoricians of Plato's time.

At this point the question might arise, if Plato wished to oppose the Gorgian view of rhetoric, why did he attack its definition rather than its practice? The answer to this question must be, as previously indicated, stated in terms of the objectives and methods of dialectic. Plato sought to know the true Form. In the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus* he was seeking the Form of rhetoric. That was his objective. His method, too, has been mentioned, as Ross has described it: "Plato has in the *Phaedrus* described dialectic as consisting in a joint use of collection and division. Of these operations, the first seems to be merely preliminary to the second. In the attempt to reach the definition of a specific term the first stage —the 'collection'—is the tentative choice of a wide genus under which the term to be defined seems to fall."[21]

With the dialectical procedure in mind we can understand why Plato approaches the subject of rhetoric in quite the way that he does in the *Gorgias* and also why that dialogue is a unified literary work with a single theme. Plato's attack was on the Gorgian view of rhetoric (which was probably a general Sophistical view of rhetoric). The attack focussed on the Gorgian definition, though "definition" in the distinctively Platonic sense. This definition could be expected to have two parts: the collection and the division. The *Gorgias* is a refutation of both parts of the Gorgian definition. We find in the first two parts of the dialogue, where Gorgias and then Polus are Socrates's prime antagonists, that Socrates aims to overthrow the "collective" definition. The burden of Socrates's argument in these sections is to establish that rhetoric does not belong to the genus, art-concerned-with-justice. The introduction of Callicles does not represent a change in theme; rather, it represents a shift in focus to the "divisive" definition. Against Callicles, Socrates might describe his own position thus:

"But even if we grant for the sake of argument this 'collective' definition which I have just refuted, I shall now demonstrate that even your 'divisive' definition is false."

This is what Socrates proceeds to do. The animus of the argument against Callicles is that Callicles's analysis of justice is wrong. Why did Plato trouble to refute a definition represented by Callicles in the dialogue? While the question is not central to the present study, the probability is that Callicles's views were widely and influentially held in Plato's time, just as we know them to be held in our own time. We can further infer that, if the present view of the thematic unity of the *Gorgias* is correct, the opinions represented by Gorgias, Polus, and Callicles were probably held as a coherent theory by the people whom Plato intended to refute when he wrote the *Gorgias*.[22]

Before proceeding to a consideration of the *Phaedrus*, it might be well briefly to review. I have attempted to demonstrate the following points:

1. The *Gorgias* is a thematically unified dialogue having for its single main

[21] W. David Ross, *Plato's Theory of Ideas* (Oxford, 1951), pp. 116-117.

[22] The important thing is that we not strain credulity by attributing to a philosophical genius reasons that are ill-defined, trivial, or plain silly.

theme the refutation of the Gorgian definition of rhetoric.

2. The *Gorgias* is concerned with ethical questions because the definition being subjected to dialectical inquiry claims a moral characteristic for the definiendum; however, there are no issues raised in the *Gorgias* which are not demonstrably pertinent to the definition of "rhetoric" presented by Gorgias early in the dialogue.

3. The *Gorgias* is fundamentally a refutative rather than a constructive dialogue, as are other of the "Socratic" dialogues, i.e., dialogues written early in Plato's career, as the *Gorgias* evidently was.

4. Plato cannot be interpreted as having pronounced a general condemnation of rhetoric.

3.

With these points clear, I shall proceed to propose that the *Phaedrus* is the constructive complement of the *Gorgias* and that the two dialogues taken together constitute a consistent view of rhetoric. A. E. Taylor pronounces the judgment with which my proposal is consistent:

> In taking leave of the *Phaedrus*, we may note that while it supplements the *Gorgias* in its conclusions about the value of "style," it modifies nothing that was said in the earlier dialogue. The moral condemnation pronounced on the use of eloquent speech to pervert facts and produce false impressions remains the same. So does the verdict that the sort of thing professional teachers from Tisias to Thrasymachus profess to expound is not a science but a mere "trick" or "knack" (and therefore cannot be conveyed, as they profess to convey it, by "lessons"). In adding that a thorough knowledge of a subject-matter and a sound knowledge of the psychology of the public addressed furnished a really scientific basis for a worthy and effective style, Plato is saying nothing inconsistent with the results of the *Gorgias*. There is thus no sufficient ground for thinking that the teaching of the *Phaedrus* represents a later "development" from the more "Socratic" position of the *Gorgias*.[23]

Since there is considerably less disagreement among students of Plato and among expert commentators about the interpretation of the *Phaedrus*, there is no need for a detailed examination of that dialogue here. Plato turns the collective and divisive resources of dialectic on "real" rhetoric, and his examination is clearly reported in the *Phaedrus*. The collective definition is: "Must not the art of rhetoric, taken as a whole, be a kind of influencing of the mind by means of words, not only in courts of law and other public gatherings, but in private places also?"[24] And further on: "The function of oratory is in fact to influence men's souls."[25]

Plato's divisive definition is explicated by his setting forth the conditions necessary to make speech-writing an art:

> The conditions to be fulfilled are these: first, you must know the truth about the subject that you speak or write about: that is to say, you must be able to isolate it in definition, and having so defined it you must next understand how to divide it into kinds, until you reach the limit of division; secondly, you must have a corresponding discernment of the nature of the soul, discover the type of speech appropriate to each nature, and order and arrange your discourse accordingly, addressing a variegated soul in a variegated style that ranges over the whole gamut of tones, and a simple soul in a simple style. All this must be done if you are to become competent, within human limits, as a scientific practitioner of speech, whether you propose to expound or to persuade.[26]

[23] A. B. Taylor, *Plato, the Man and his Work* (New York, 1929), p. 319.

[24] *Phaedrus*, 261A. Unless otherwise indicated, all quotations from the *Phaedrus* will be from R. Hackforth, *Plato's Phaedrus* (Cambridge, England, 1952).

[25] *Phaedrus*, 271C. The more famous rendering of this passage, "Oratory is the art of enchanting the soul . . . ," is by Benjamin Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato* (New York, 1937), I.

[26] *Phaedrus*, 277BC.

In sum, Plato conceived a true art of rhetoric to be a consolidation of dialectic with psychogogia—applicable to all discourse, public and private,[27] persuasive and expository, which aims to influence men's souls. Dialectic was Plato's general scientific method; rhetoric is a special psychological application of it.[28] This definition of rhetoric is in one sense narrower, in another broader than the definition which Plato overthrew in the *Gorgias*. It is narrower in the sense that he does not admit the nature of justice and injustice to be a part of the "art" of rhetoric, but places it rather in the "art" of statesmanship. It is a broader definition in that Plato does assign to the art of rhetoric a specific province of its own, and a province which is not, as with the earlier Sophists, confined to forensic and deliberative oratory, but extends to all discourse which influences men. Plato's position here is fully consonant with that of the *Gorgias*; indeed, the treatments of rhetoric in the two dialogues supplement one another.

The question of the thematic unity of the *Phaedrus* too has puzzled commentators. It is evident from the dialogue itself that its main subject is rhetoric; on this point, there is virtually unanimous agreement. But the three speeches on love in the dialogue, occupying as they do such a large proportion of space and reaching, in the third speech, such a luminous intensity of poetic eloquence and philosophical insight, have suggested to some readers a formal defect in the dialogue's structure.[29] The speeches fasten the reader's attention on themselves; Socrates's second speech is the climax of the drama: all converse in the dialogue builds up to and then down from that section. How can we account for the unity of the dialogue? I believe that we can account for the speeches by observing that they operate on at least seven different levels of meaning, at least five of which are directly and clearly pertinent to a consideration of rhetoric. By my reference to "levels of meaning," I indicate only that there are at least seven different ways in which these speeches might legitimately be understood by a reader:

1. The three speeches are investigations of love, and are intended to convey Plato's ideas on that subject. As such, they are not directly and clearly pertinent to a consideration of rhetoric, though they still have great value taken exclusively in this non-rhetorical sense.

2. The speeches, culminating in Socrates's second speech, are intended to express Plato's counterpart of Sophistical education. It is clear that Socrates's second speech focuses on and advocates the development of the intellectual and moral qualities of the beloved by the lover. It would not be inaccurate to characterize Plato's ideal lover as a philosophical tutor; certainly he is given a primarily educative function with respect to the beloved. Since, in the *Gorgias*, Plato attacked some of the pretensions of rhetorical education as conducted by the Sophists, we might expect a more constructive treatment of education in the *Phaedrus*.[30] Even so, the speeches, read in this way, cannot be said to have an unqualifiedly clear and direct relevance to the subject of rhetoric. The remaining five "readings," however, do have such relevance.

[27] Cf. *Sophist*, 222C.
[28] See Shorey, *What Plato Said*, p. 52.
[29] See, e.g. Shorey, p. 198.
[30] This interpretation is obliquely suggested by W. C. Helmbold and W. B. Holther, "The Unity of the Phaedrus," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, XIV, No. 9 (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1952).

3. The three speeches can be taken as specimens of rhetoric. In this way they serve a function to the theme of the dialogue so obvious that few commentators have even troubled to remark it directly. The speeches represent different kinds of persuasion, each superior to its predecessor, and the third represents the apogee of rhetorical discourse. The first speech, besides being subject to all the criticisms which Socrates makes of it, appeals exclusively to the prudential self-interest of the auditor. It is devoid of dialectic, and its disorder is evidence of its lack of adaptability to any possible person.[31] The second speech argues from grounds of definition and moral self-interest. It is better than the first because at least it is a kind of dialectic, though it is not "true" dialectic, as Socrates's later critique of it observes. The third speech is the perfection of the technique: the consummate amalgam of dialectic and psychogogia.

In exemplifying dialectic in a speech, Plato would not encounter any unusual literary problems. All of his dialogues illustrate dialectic in one way or another. But the exemplification of psychogogia certainly must have been a unique literary problem to Plato, a problem which he brilliantly resolved by choosing love as the subject of the speeches. Plato could not very well have exemplified the psychogogic aspect of rhetoric *only* by having Socrates's speeches adapted to Phaedrus. If Plato had done only that, his exemplification might not have been clearly made, and he uncharacteristically would have limited the applicability of his paradigm to the dramatic situation created in the dialogue. Plato's resolution of the problem is to have Socrates discourse directly on the soul, which the subject of love enables him to do. Since the theory of the soul presented in the speech is itself the product of dialectic, the speech becomes an explicit consolidation of dialectic and psychogogia and, as such, a paradigm of Platonic rhetoric in a philosophical as well as a literary sense.

4. The three speeches can be taken as considerations of a particular type of rhetoric: courtship. As such, the speeches can be interpreted as dealing with the objectives of the suitor and, implicatively, with the objectives available to rhetors in general. Plato rejects personal pleasure and reciprocal pleasure as worthy objectives, finally endorsing the love of wisdom as the aim worthy of fulfillment. Considered in this way, the third speech can be taken as a poetic restatement of the doctrine developed in the *Gorgias* that the true orator and statesman aims at the moral improvement of his audience. This reading would reveal that the speeches in the *Phaedrus* contain paradigms within paradigms, i.e., the speeches *qua* speeches are paradigms of artistic form, and their contents are also paradigmatic.

5. The three speeches can be taken as Plato's advice to audiences. In a view of rhetoric so concerned as Plato's with the sorts of things rhetors ought to say, we should rather expect a concomitant treatment of what audiences ought to attend to. The speeches of the *Phaedrus* can be read as functioning in that way. We must not neglect the care with which the character of Phaedrus is drawn in the dialogue. He is neither a witless foil for Socrates's ironies nor the representative of an antagonistic philosophical idea. Phaedrus is a lover of discourse, a young man who is impressionable, an auditor. Several times in the dialogue Socrates insinuates that the Lysian speech was composed to influence Phae-

[31] Plato insisted that principles of organization be based on human psychology. See *Phaedrus* 277C.

drus and that Socrates's own speeches have the same objective.[32] The three speeches, taken together, constitute a symposium on the subject of whether one ought to yield to the lover or the non-lover. Since, as was observed in the fourth "reading" above, the wooing of the lover would be a type of rhetoric in Plato's schematism, we might suppose him to have wished his readers to generalize from the particular case, wooing, to the general Form, rhetoric. Since these speeches are directed to Phaedrus, we might be expected to take him as the paradigm of audiences. Once the generalization is made, it becomes evident that the speeches deal with what sorts of arguments one should be influenced by, and to what sorts of speakers one ought to listen. In this light too, the speeches would be taken as a restatement of the *Gorgias's* doctrine about the proper objective of oratory, with the emphasis falling on the moral implications which this doctrine has for audiences.

6. The speeches can be taken as poetic discussions of the moral attitude which the speaker takes toward his speech. More than once in the dialogue Socrates describes Phaedrus and himself as "lovers of discourse." They would therefore belong to the genus "lover" according to the prescriptions of Platonic dialectic, and whatever is true of that genus would be true also of them with respect to discourse. Accordingly, the third speech would be read as saying that the true lover of discourse will strive to enhance the moral quality of the object of his love: his discourse.

It may seem odd to the modern reader to encounter the concept of a "love" of discourse, but we know from Plato's writings and from a multitude of other sources in antiquity that the Greeks did take a deep and critical pleasure in rhetorical discourse. Plato, then, was setting down the conditions for the expression of that love, holding, in effect, that the lover of discourse will imbue his discourse with moral elevation.

7. The three speeches can be taken as a consideration of benign and malign forms of "madness" or inspiration, with the third speech exemplifying poetic inspiration in form and erotic inspiration in content. Plato recognized the existence of four types of benign madness, two of which are discussed and exemplified in these speeches.[33] The relationship between poetic madness and Platonic rhetoric will be briefly examined below.

These seven readings of the speeches may well not exhaust the possibilities, but the levels of possible interpretation are numerous enough to reveal the plurality of function of the speeches. Since Plato was a conscious literary artist, I believe that we must take this ambiguity as deliberate. Considering the fact that this ambiguity enables Plato to write on one level about an apparently disparate subject while, at other levels, still to maintain a unitary theme in the dialogue, we must judge that his ambiguity is actually a glorious tour de force. I hope at least to have established that the speeches in the *Phaedrus* represent a violation of the dialogue's thematic unity only when they are read in only one of several possible ways. The general inference which can be drawn is that there is no lack of thematic unity in either the *Gorgias* or the *Phaedrus*, nor are the positions taken in those two dialogues anything but fully consistent and logically complementary to one another.

[32] E.g., *Phaedrus*, 237B, 257.

[33] For a fuller discussion of this subject see: Ivan M. Linforth, "Telestic Madness in Plato," *University of California Publications in Classical Philology*, XIII (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1950).

4.

Plato is not so directly concerned with rhetoric in dialogues other than the two we have been considering, but even so, some of the darker corners of Platonic rhetoric are illuminated by his insights in other areas. This is especially true of his seminal contributions in the area of epistemology.

One recurrent distinction which Plato makes between knowledge or intelligence and true belief is particularly noteworthy for its implicative relevance to rhetorical theory. The pertinent section in the *Timaeus* is:

> If intelligence and true belief are two different kinds, then these things—Forms that we cannot perceive but only think of—certainly exist in themselves; but if, as some hold, true belief in no way differs from intelligence, then all things we perceive through the bodily senses must be taken as the most certain reality. Now we must affirm that they are two different things, for they are distinct in origin and unlike in nature. The one is produced in us by instruction, the other by persuasion; the one can always give a true account of itself, the other can give none; the one cannot be shaken by persuasion, whereas the other can be won over; and true belief, we must allow, is shared by all mankind, intelligence only by the gods and a small number of men.[34]

We find a restatement of this position in the *Theaetetus*,[35] and though the context in that dialogue is different, the important point is that Plato did draw a distinction between knowledge and conviction, and based this distinction on the method by which each was attained. Plato looked upon knowledge, the object of instruction, as accompanied by an unshakeable certitude which conviction, the object of persuasion, lacked. This deficiency of certitude was not affected by the truth-value of the conviction. "True belief," by which Plato meant a state of having been persuaded to accept a proposition that was in fact true, was still, despite its truth, more tenuously held than knowledge *(epistemé)* or intelligence *(noesis)*, i.e., rational intuition.[36]

To Plato, belief or conviction *(pistis)* was one of four possible states of mind in an hierarchy of mental states.[37] The lowest of these states of mind is imagining *(eikasia)*, which Cornford describes as, "the wholly unenlightened state of mind which takes sensible appearances and current moral notions at their face value—the condition of the unreleased prisoners in the Cave allegory . . . who see only images of images."[38]

Above imagining is belief which, when true, is a sufficient guide to action, but which can be shaken by persuasion and is the objective of persuasion. Higher on the scale is thinking *(dianoia)* characteristic of mathematical procedure. It is reasoning from premise to conclusion in which the premises are taken axiomatically. The highest state of mind is intelligence or knowledge, in which the premises themselves are examined and the ultimate principle on which they depend is apprehended.

In the third speech of the *Phaedrus* and in the *Meno*,[39] Plato discussed an unusual mental phenomenon which he called "madness" or inspiration, by which one, possessing only true belief, utters profound truth. It is clear in these passages that Plato did not consider the profoundest insights to be exclusively the product of intelligence or knowledge. The poet, the statesman, and the orator might have moments of vivid revelation by which audiences can be inspired, but the source of this reve-

[34] *Timaeus*, 51DE. Translation from Francis Macdonald Cornford, *Plato's Cosmology* (London, 1937).

[35] *Theaetetus*, 201A.

[36] Cornford, *The Republic of Plato* (Oxford, 1941), p. 223.

[37] *Republic*, 6.509 ff.

[38] Cornford, *Republic*, p. 222.

[39] *Meno*, 98B ff.

lation is not in any state of mind. Rather, it is divinely inspired.[40] Its capacity to persuade is due to the epidemic quality of divine madness. Such inspirations have nothing to do with art. They are the gifts of God, and cannot be further explained.[41]

In these considerations we have perhaps the only instance in the formal history of rhetorical theory of an investigation of the epistemological character of rhetoric, and the relative strength with which any persuasively induced belief will be sustained measured against a broad psychological scale. Plato's conclusion was that no matter how fervent our conviction that a proposition is true, that conviction will always be less secure than the knowledge even of a more trivial proposition. The method by which a belief has come to be held makes all the difference.

Given the observation that belief or conviction is inferior to knowledge in certitude and persistence, and given also Plato's deep commitment to the pursuit and cultivation of knowledge, the question arises: What place, if any, would rhetorical persuasion have in Plato's doctrine of politics? What place could rhetoric have when the state itself is designed to serve philosophical ends, when its leaders are carefully selected and arduously trained philosophers, and its economy, educational system, family pattern, artistic enterprise—all of its institutions, including even the most personal and intimate—are arranged to serve the interests of abstract Justice? Where is there room for the flexibility of argument, the contingency of decision, and the inconstancy of commitment, all so characteristic of rhetorical activity, when the fabric of society is woven after the pattern of certain, immutable, universal Truth? Plato answers these questions, and defines with precision the place of rhetoric in the Platonic commonwealth.

In considering the social utility of rhetoric, Plato's emphasis falls on the function of persuasion as a means of social control. As such, its utility to the state is obvious, and Plato has not neglected it. Despite the ideological differences between the *Republic* and the *Laws*, a congruous view of the function of rhetoric is maintained. Its place is defined in the *Politicus*, where rhetoric is made subordinate to the art of statesmanship; but even though in a subordinated capacity, rhetorical persuasion is considered by Plato as the only means of social control besides coercion which the statesman can exercise.[42]

In the *Republic*, Plato not only states that rhetoric should be used by the Guardians, but explicitly condones the use even of willful deception in the best interests of the community.[43] The state is to be organized and governed after metaphysical principles, yet metaphysical knowledge cannot be apprehended by unmetaphysical minds. Hence, it is justifiable to simplify complex truths and to present them appealingly.

In the "second best state," rhetoric occupies the same place and discharges the same function as in the *Republic*. Here too, it is a means of social control to be used by the Legislator,[44] who may use even a benevolent lie to persuade.[45] Since Plato considered freedom of expression inimical to the best interests of the community, his condoning of deception is not general, but is always confined to the governing class. The *Laws*

[40] This notion is developed in the *Ion*.
[41] See Hackforth, pp. 60-62.
[42] *Politicus*, 304.
[43] *Republic*, 3.388, 413, 459.
[44] *Laws*, 4.720-722; 10.885D.
[45] *Laws*, 2.663 ff.

explicitly bans unrestricted forensic advocacy and shyster lawyers from the state,[46] but nowhere in his political writings do we find a general banishment of rhetoric.

In addition to social control, Plato attributes an educational value to rhetoric. Moral and metaphysical truths are to be rhetorically disseminated, not alone for the maintenance of political order, but so that they will be believed for their own sakes as well.[47] Young men who are without philosophy, and so are not yet equipped to attain true knowledge, would be attracted to the study of philosophy by "persuasion."[48]

5.

It may now be apparent that Plato did not despise rhetoric, but only the excesses of the Sophists. He was far from blind to the practical need for social order and to the limitations of the popular mind, and he gave to rhetoric some functions for which, even today, no apologies need be offered. Certainly Plato was repelled by the Gorgian view of rhetoric: by the pretensions of its claims, the flaccidity of its formulation, and the easy virtue of its practice. But he was far too good a writer and clear a thinker to overstate his case or to extend it unreasonably.

It is undeniable that Plato's preoccupation with the moral character of rhetoric in his critique colored his positive formulations of rhetorical theory, so that he gives us not an account of rhetoric, but an account of a "true art" of rhetoric, not an account of the general social functions of rhetoric, but an account of its utility to the Ideal State. That there were actually theories and practices of rhetoric which did not fit his mold, no author has observed more brilliantly than he. But these other theories and practices were not "true" arts of rhetoric; they were "false" arts, knacks only. Plato did not deny their reality; what he denied was their moral efficacy.

From our perspective in history, we are able to perceive the irony that Plato, the arch-enemy of the Sophists, was actually closer to them in his rhetorical theory than was his successor, Aristotle. Plato's repudiation of Sophistical rhetoric was neither so complete nor so thorough as his student's, for though Plato rejected and refuted with finality the particular moral interpretation of rhetoric which the Sophists propounded, he did not reject the attempt to suffuse an investigation of rhetoric with a moral concern. It is on this very point that his great disciple departed from him.

Still, we must regard it as an open question whether Aristotle surpassed him by that particular departure. Can it be denied that so fearsomely potent a force as rhetoric participates in moral values? Is it the case that any instrument which affects human life is not subject to moral assessment? Aristotle affirmed the moral neutrality of rhetoric; Plato's answer to both these questions was an emphatic negative. When, in recent history, we find the clamorous spirit of fanaticism at large in the world, sustained by rhetorical discourse; when we contemplate the undiminished and undiminishing potentiality for savagery latent in all men, waiting to be triggered by suasive language; and when we observe the Sophists of our time, rationally discredited but thriving still, we may begin to suspect that, after all, Plato was even wiser than we had thought.

[46] *Laws*, 11.937E.
[47] *Laws*, 2.664.
[48] *Euthydemus*, 274 ff.

THE BRITISH ORATORS, V
LORD MACAULAY, PARLIAMENTARY SPEAKER: HIS LEADING IDEAS

Margaret Wood

THOMAS Babington Macaulay, fully established by the critics of his time as a distinguished historian and essayist, did not achieve so secure a place as an orator. Some critics of the nineteenth century deprecated his speaking in Parliament. Others wrote that no man of that period had a more vivid effect upon an audience and that his speeches alone would place his name high on the list of those who succeeded in moving the House of Commons.[1]

Financially unable to afford the leisure needed to follow either politics or writing as a single career, Macaulay attempted to succeed in political life, to gain economic security, and to effect a lasting literary impression.[2] Because the middle class respected high birth and worshiped property, the young Whig, who had neither, was exposed to the envy of his equals and the jealousy of his superiors.[3] He overcame these prejudices, to be called by some the only great advocate and expounder of Whig principles since the time of Burke.[4] His contemporaries observed that although oratory was probably not the sole cause of his influence in politics, he probably owed his political advancement to the fact that he was an outstanding Parliamentary speaker.[5]

Macaulay's speech training followed the pattern of the best English Parliamentary speakers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Young Macaulay was surrounded by political talk in his father's house, which was a center of consultation for adherents of the Evangelical faith and for members of Parliament. Although his learning actually began at home, he attended Mr. Greaves' school at Clapham. When he was thirteen, Macaulay had the opportunity of studying Greek and Latin and of reading widely in literature at the Reverend Mr. Preston's private school near Cambridge. He also took part in the school debating society. At Trinity College, Cambridge, he devoted himself to the classics, to reading history and general

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[1] W. Fraser Rae, "Macaulay at Home," *Temple Bar*, LXXXVI (1889), 185.

[2] Macaulay's first public speech was given on the occasion of an Anti-Slavery Society meeting in 1824 in London. In 1825, he began to contribute to the *Edinburgh Review*, a Whig publication. Through it, he replied to the *Westminster Review*, a Radical paper. In 1832 he was elected to represent Leeds in Parliament. He accepted the appointment as member of the Supreme Council to India in 1834 in order to establish his economic independence. By the time he returned to England in 1838, he had begun his *Journals* and written of his intention to begin his *History*. In 1839, he was elected to Parliament for Edinburgh, became Secretary of War, and defended the Melbourne ministry in the Commons. His most vocal years in Parliament were 1840-1846. By accepting the office of Paymaster-general of the army in Russell's cabinet, Macaulay forfeited his seat in Parliament. Although he lost the Edinburgh election in 1847, the same voters re-elected him in 1852. Poor health forced him to resign from Parliament in 1856.

[3] "Lord Macaulay's Political Career," *Living Age*, LXXXV (1862), 100.

[4] "Lord Macaulay," *Living Age*, LXIV (1860), 506.

[5] "Contemporary Orators—The Right Honorable T. B. Macaulay," *Fraser's*, XXXIII (1846), 79; Rt. Honorable W. E. Gladstone, "Lord Macaulay," *Living Age*, CXX (1876), 516.

literature, and to the development of his abilities as an extemporaneous speaker. His addresses bore the mark of his classical studies, his historical research, and his familiarity with the orators of antiquity. His active participation in debates as a member of the Cambridge Union was instrumental in changing him from a mild Tory to a Whig. According to the professors and undergraduates at Cambridge, Macaulay distinguished himself in the Union Debating Society.[6]

He continued his habits of omnivorous reading established early in life. Even in 1836, when he was besieged by activities in India, he studied Greek and Latin and read French, Italian, and a little Spanish.[7] From Calcutta he wrote, "I have read Demosthenes twice, I need not say with what delight and admiration. I am now deep in Isocrates; and from him I shall pass to Lysias."[8] He considered Cicero's treatises on oratory the best ever written on that subject,[9] but he thought that next to Demosthenes, Dante should be studied by those desiring oratorical eminence.[10]

Macaulay applied himself to writing as industriously as he did to reading. While contributing to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine* and to the *Edinburgh Review*, he was formulating many of his concepts of government. He made repeated revisions when he was writing his history, and then submitted his writing to the test of being read aloud to his family or to his friends.[11]

His phenomenal memory enabled him to use a quantity of historical precedent and a variety of literary allusion that were astounding. His speeches, however, were more Attic than Asian in style. Greville recorded that Macaulay could repeat all Demosthenes by heart, and all Milton, a great part of the Bible, and the New Testament in Greek—that he managed to transfer contents of books to his own mind where they were always accessible.[12] Macaulay wrote, "I have no pleasure from books so great as that of reading over for the hundredth time great productions, which I almost know by heart."[13]

For the first thirty years of his life Macaulay was actually preparing to speak in Parliament. The fact that he had a photographic mind may, however, have had a negative influence on his delivery, for he was accused of memorizing his speeches. Because he said that he revised speeches in his head and that he had to force himself to forget some quotations, it may be assumed that his speeches were carefully thought out but not necessarily written and memorized. At no time when he rose in the House did he have a note in his hand or a manuscript in his pocket.[14] The similarity of phrasing and of ideas between some of his essays and some of his speeches indicates that he consciously or unconsciously transferred material from one form of discourse to another. He was aware of the necessity for frequent practice in order to master the

[6] *The Life, Letters, and Literary Remains of Edward Bulwer, Lord Lytton*, ed. Edward George Bulwer-Lytton (New York, 1884), p. 210; "The Edinburgh Reviewers," from *Gentleman's Magazine* reprinted in *Living Age*, CVII (1870), 372.

[7] *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan (New York, 1876), I, 394.

[8] MS, Trinity College Library, Cambridge University, *Letters to Ellis* (November 30, 1836).

[9] *The Marginal Notes of Lord Macaulay*, ed. G. O. Trevelyan (New York, 1907), pp. 37-39.

[10] Margaret Wood, "T. B. Macaulay's Theory of Public Speaking," unpubl. M. A. thesis (State University of Iowa, 1938), p. 68.

[11] *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, II, 199-202.

[12] *The Greville Diary*, ed. Philip Whitwell Wilson (London, 1927), II, 153-156.

[13] MS, Trinity College Library, Cambridge University, *Macaulay's Journals* (October 23, 1838), I, 10.

[14] *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, II, 126.

technique of debating.[15] Although he did not always give the impression of spontaneity or suggest the unstudied quality which he himself recommended, he could and did speak extemporaneously on the hustings,[16] and his Parliamentary speeches proved him ready and adroit in reply. Perhaps his growing literary habits and reputation interfered with the practice necessary for him to be a renowned debater. Perhaps also he became more enamored of his general audience of readers than of the specific audience in the House.

While his command of thought in presentation may have seemed inflexible to some, his command of self in delivery was weaker. Macaulay had neither the impressive platform appearance nor the graceful bodily action necessary to impress critics of the nineteenth century.[17] Commonplace in appearance, muscularly uncoordinated, stiff and immovable, he did not win his listeners by his manner upon the platform. Furthermore, his rapid delivery made it impossible for reporters to record him accurately.[18] His voice, although monotonous and inflexible, was unquestionably loud enough. In general, his delivery lacked grace, variety, and warmth. His presentation did not want energy, but his ideas and his language more than his delivery captured the attention of the House.

Macaulay's interest in speechmaking was shown not only by his debating in Parliament but by his discriminating criticism of other speakers. His judgment of speakers matured during his first three years of active political life when he attended almost every debate and division in the House. In addition to one essay devoted to "The Athenian Orators," he wrote critical essays on Warren Hastings, Lord Holland, Barère, the Earl of Chatham, Pitt, Sir James Mackintosh, and other famous men in English political life.[19]

Thomas Babington Macaulay spoke, wrote, and lived history during the critical days of 1831-1846. When he entered the House in 1830, Parliamentary reform was the controversial question.[20] During the year 1831, Macaulay defended the Reform Bill in five major debates. When the bill was passed in June 1832, he shared in the popularity which for a time the Whigs enjoyed.[21] Not resting his opinions on any theory of government, Macaulay considered the question of Parliamentary reform a practical one. "I rest my opinion on no general theory of government. I distrust all general theories of government. I will not positively say, that there is any form of polity which may not, in some conceivable circumstances, be the best

[15] T. B. Macaulay, "William Pitt, Earl of Chatham," *The Works of Lord Macaulay*, Edinburgh Edition (New York, 1897), VI, 50.

[16] Frederick Arnold, *The Public Life of Lord Macaulay* (London, 1862), p. 344.

[17] Rae, p. 185.

[18] *The London Times*, March 3, 1831, and October 11, 1831.

[19] Wood, p. 68.

[20] Two objectives of the reformers were to redistribute Parliamentary seats on a more equal basis and to extend the right of voting. The cry for reform arose from the demands of a new group which had been created by the growth of industrialism. The more advanced Whigs, led by Grey and Russell, and the small radical group represented by Cobbett and Hobhouse endorsed reform. In opposition, Sir Robert Peel, the Duke of Wellington, and other Tories represented the Established Church and the wealthy landowners. Yet a similarity of education combined with a similarity of social position to produce a culturally homogeneous House of Commons.

[21] It was thus established that a seat could no longer be purchased or inherited as private property. Enfranchisement was extended, but the middle class, the bulk of the population, was still without the vote. Although the passage of the bill deprived Macaulay of his appointive seat in Parliament, he was later returned from Leeds. This was the first of four Parliamentary Reform Acts, followed by those of 1867, 1884, and 1918, which influenced the political progress of Great Britain.

possible."[22] He did not agree with James Mill[23] and Jeremy Bentham,[24] who operated on the assumption that politics was a science. Common sense and expediency took the place of political philosophy for Macaulay. He defended the Reform Bill because it guaranteed degrees of improvement which the present state of Parliamentary representation could not offer. His belief that the bill could not do what neither a constitution nor a code of laws could guarantee was sound. He could not conceive of law as a fixed and authoritative science. In this respect, he agreed with Bentham. Macaulay philosophized soundly on the fact that the support of the public was needed to put teeth into any law: "The law has no eyes; the law has no hands; the law is nothing but a piece of paper . . . till public opinion breathes the breath of life into the dead letter."[25]

An important debate in which Macaulay participated in 1833 evolved from a renewal of the Charter of the East India Company. Because of the demands of private merchants and the philosophy of free trade popular in England, it was impossible for a private company to maintain a monopoly on trade. The Government of India Bill was designed to promote harmony between the East India Company and the Board when the company lost its commercial privileges but retained its political functions.[26] Continuing to rely on the principle of expediency, Macaulay judged India unready for a purely representative form of government. "In India you cannot have representative institutions. . . . [We] have to engraft on despotism those blessings which are the natural fruits of liberty."[27] Instead he proposed that a Supreme Council subject to the approval of the directors of the East India Company govern India as a benevolent despot.[28] Whether another form of government could have been worked out with salutary results was questionable, but Macaulay did not thoroughly explore the possibility. Judging, in his characteristic manner, a government by its practical effects,[29] he found that India had suffered in some respects but that the government was actively remedying these evils.[30] A weakness in his analysis was his failure to consider seriously the possibility of government without the

[22] T. B. Macaulay, "Speeches and Legal Studies," *The Complete Works*, University Edition (New York, 1900), IX, 3-4. Hereafter cited as Macaulay.

[23] "A complete theory of government would indeed be a noble present to mankind; but it is a present which we do not hope and do not pretend that we can offer. If, however, we cannot lay the foundation, it is something to clear away the rubbish; if we cannot set up the truth, it is something to pull down error." T. B. Macaulay, "Westminster Reviewer's Defence of Mill," (June 1829), *The Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches of Lord Macaulay* (London, 1882), p. 185.

[24] Referring to Macaulay, Leslie Stephen said, " 'he ought by all his intellectual sympathies to be a Utilitarian'; but probably he distrusted their theories not so much because they were Utilitarian, as because they were theories." S. C. Roberts, *Lord Macaulay: the Pre-eminent Victorian*, English Association Publication, No. 67 (Oxford, 1927), p. 8.

[25] Macaulay, p. 59.

[26] The bill proposed that exclusive trading rights should cease, that India should be thrown open to all English subjects, that slavery should be abolished, and that no native of the British territories in the East should be barred from office by religion, descent, or color. The government of India would be entrusted to the East India Company under Parliamentary regulation. Apparently Macaulay was successful in sensing and in stating the amount of reform acceptable to the House, for the government carried the bill.

[27] Macaulay, p. 140.

[28] "I compare the Indian government with other governments of the same class, with despotisms, with military despotisms, with foreign military despotisms; and I find none that approaches it in excellence." Macaulay, p. 152.

[29] "We must judge of the Indian government, as of all other governments, by its practical effects." Macaulay, p. 144.

[30] "Even in its errors I recognize a paternal feeling towards the great people committed to its charge." Macaulay, p. 151.

company's control,[31] and he failed to show that the officials of the East India Company were conscientiously remedying evils. Statistics of increasing population, expanding commerce, and multiplying wealth for the possessions of England obscured his vision. Utility and expanding markets for Britain were Whig goals shared by Macaulay.

From 1835 to 1840 the Whig government was troubled by annual deficits, the Chartist uprisings, and divided opinion on the ballot. The Lords, furthermore, refused to pass remedial laws for Ireland. Macaulay, just returned from India, saw Melbourne's as the glorious Whig party of 1832. On January 28, 1840, Sir John Yarde-Buller proposed a motion of lack of confidence in the government,[32] and although Macaulay's defense of the Melbourne Ministry was primarily refutative, he again suggested compromise for the sake of expediency.[33] Admitting that the present ministers might not be perfect, he saw no reason for urging a change of government unless that change would be beneficial. In his speeches on the Established Church of Ireland[34] he recognized that because the majority of Irishmen could not be converted to Protestantism, they should be appeased in some practical way. He suspected that his policy of toleration would not find favor with bigoted representatives, but he hoped that they would at least be impressed with the practicability of his stand.

In line with the economic beliefs of the time, Macaulay accepted the policy of *laissez-faire*. In defending the Reform Bill, he assured the members that neither he nor the electors expected it to be a remedy for all evils. Macaulay observed, "The business of government is not directly to make the people rich, but to protect them in making themselves rich; . . . Governments do not and cannot support the people."[35] His conjecture that the electors were too wise to expect a panacea was not entirely correct. The people were expecting impossible things from the bill.

Macaulay's difficulty in rationalizing his liberal political views with his *laissez-faire* principles was revealed in succeeding debates. Optimism characterized the Whig spokesman at this time just as it did at the time of his speeches on reform. His habit of looking to the Reform Bill of 1832 as the great Whig contribution and the turning point in English government was typical of Macaulay's thinking as revealed in his *History*, his essays, and his speeches. He supported the dangerous Whig custom of leaning on the accomplishments of the past. By 1846, however, he wisely

[31] During his eighteen months as secretary of the East India Board and prior to his speech of 1833, Macaulay studied the history of India's relationship to England. After his speech, he was considered one of the authorities on Indian affairs. His reputation was further enhanced when he served as a member of the Supreme Council for four years. In 1840 his essay on Lord Clive and in 1841 his article on Warren Hastings were published. His opinions on India were consistent throughout his speeches and his writings.

[32] The Whig minority was accused of fomenting disturbances by encouraging people to meet in large bodies, of hostility to the Established Church of England, and of contradictory opinions within its ranks. The ensuing debate was one of the most protracted and most important which occurred during this session. Macaulay defended the Melbourne ministry on January 29, 1840, but by August 1841, a Tory ministry under Sir Robert Peel was inaugurated. Macaulay, however, was returned unopposed.

[33] "Changes, which may hereafter take place in the value of money and in the condition of the people, may make a change of the qualification necessary." Macaulay, pp. 194-195.

[34] The important question of the session of 1845 was Peel's proposal to increase the grant to Maynooth College where young men were trained for priesthood in the Catholic Church. Strong Protestants saw in this endowment the rapid downfall of the Established Church in Ireland.

[35] Macaulay, pp. 38-39.

championed factory legislation.[36] It was difficult for Macaulay and the Liberals who embraced freedom politically and individualism economically to satisfy the working man at this time, for nineteenth-century thinking was moving from individualism to collectivism. The question was whether there should be freedom from or through the state.

Like John Stuart Mill, Macaulay began to combine his concept of individualism with larger social views. He interpreted *laissez-faire* to mean that the individual had the right to control his own actions as long as they did not interfere with the liberty of others. On the question of governmental interference in factory legislation, he believed that it was important to distinguish the cases "in which it is the duty of the State to interfere from those cases in which it is the duty of the State to abstain from interference."[37] Macaulay as usual sought the just mean between the extreme alternatives. He argued that to say that government should never regulate trade which affects higher than pecuniary interests "is a monstrous proposition, a proposition at which Adam Smith would have stood aghast."[38] In his defense of factory legislation, Macaulay showed that the government could wisely interfere to protect health as well as to assure freedom for education and leisure.

The basic political philosophy of his speeches on reform developed from historical precedents relating to the rights of Englishmen. Because he thought money or property gave security and because men could not be expected to exercise good judgment without security, he argued in favor of a pecuniary qualification for voters.[39] He held that poverty and distress made the most intelligent people unwise and subject to quackery. Although he saw no objections to universal suffrage in the United States, laborers in England did not have comparably plentiful employment, high wages, and cheap food. The actual need for parliamentary reform lay in the fact that the government "is government by certain detached portions and fragments of property, selected from the rest, and preferred to the rest, on no rational principle whatever."[40] His major tenet was not that property rights were inalienable rights but that property owners should not be excluded from their rightful representation.

Macaulay was also the mouthpiece of Whig philosophy when he urged that more power be given to the middle class, which he described as the group "with the flower of the aristocracy at its head, and the flower of the working classes bringing up its rear."[41] Agreeing with Burke's philosophy of government, Macaulay stated, "The end of government is the happiness of the people: and I do not conceive that, in a country like this, the happiness of the people can be promoted by a form of government in which the middle classes place no confidence."[42] His principle was to admit this group to representation without any violent shock to the institutions of the country.[43] He viewed the middle class as

[36] The question of factory legislation produced curious cross-voting in Parliament. Because men and women had to work twelve hours a day in factories, which, with time spent going to and from meals, made fourteen hours of occupied time, a Ten Hours Bill was introduced. This limited the hours of factory children up to eighteen years and of women to ten hours' work a day. Although the measure was not passed until one year after Macaulay's speech, the principle upon which he chose to debate had an effect on all subsequent legislation for labor.

[37] Macaulay, p. 445.

[38] Macaulay, p. 448.

[39] Macaulay, pp. 3-4.

[40] Macaulay, p. 6.

[41] Macaulay, p. 78.

[42] Macaulay, p. 13.

[43] Macaulay, pp. 2-3.

the conciliating power between the aristocracy and the tumultuous multitude. Just as he opposed universal suffrage because he feared it would produce a revolution, he supported the Reform Bill in order to avoid a revolution.[44] Believing that "a liberal government makes a conservative people,"[45] he urged granting other concessions in order to preserve the institutions. The history of England, which proves the respect held for the Crown, records the weakening of the House of Lords in favor of the House of Commons, and recognizes the attempt to make government a means, not an end, vindicates Macaulay's point of view. His idea that when the middle class was prosperous the working man would also be secure[46] was fallacious. He failed to comprehend that benefits to the upper class might not successfully bring benefits to the labor group. In addition, he failed to consider that the ability to work required protection as much as did the property of the middle class.

Consistent with the policy of gradualism which underlay his thinking on the Reform Bill, Macaulay approved of the East India Bill, which proposed compromise in order that it should not be necessary to revolutionize the whole constitution of India. Neither would the bill rob nor confer a boon upon the company.[47] He also applied such thinking to the question of the Irish Church.[48] He favored an increased grant to Maynooth College and transfer of a large part of the revenues from the Established Church in Ireland to the Catholics. Because neither he nor the Whigs agreed to a repeal of the union of the two countries, he held it important to attain peace through these other equitable concessions. He correctly predicted the inevitable fall of the Irish Church. A bill for disestablishment and disendowment of the Anglican Church in Ireland passed in 1869. Macaulay, however, did not anticipate the passage of a Home Rule bill or separation of the two countries. Macaulay had placed himself in the peculiar position of supporting a Tory measure, of risking offending Queen Victoria, and of speaking against the strong Protestants.

In deciding how much governmental interference was possible in factory legislation, he also favored compromise. Characteristically, he chose the middle ground between a meddling paternal government and a careless irresponsible one.[49] History revealed that through this method England obtained by peaceful methods what other countries obtained by revolution.

Another manifestation of his support for gradualism was his belief that governmental changes must keep abreast of the changing conditions in the nation. Although he agreed with Bacon and Burke that the object was to enlarge and repair the old, to modify conditions rather than to create them, he was convinced that "The great cause of revolutions is this, that while nations move onward, constitutions stand still."[50] While he admitted that the wisdom of ancestors must be recognized, he did

[44] Macaulay, pp. 4-5.

[45] Macaulay, p. 29.

[46] "On the physical condition of the great body of the people, government acts not as a specific, but as an alterative. Its operation is powerful, indeed, and certain, but gradual and indirect. . . . By this indirect process the bill will, I feel assured, conduce to the national prosperity." Macaulay, p. 39.

[47] Macaulay, pp. 136-137.

[48] On April 14 Macaulay defended Peel's proposal to increase the grant to Maynooth College at the same time reproaching the leader of the ministry for his inconsistent policy toward Ireland. On April 23 Macaulay supported an amendment. Although the amendment was rejected, the bill passed the Lords in 1845.

[49] Macaulay, p. 445.

[50] Macaulay, p. 25.

not agree that legislation from antiquity was applicable for present-day England.[51] Macaulay was of that party which was just enough in advance of the age to be useful to it. He observed no evil in change as change. Yet an ardent attachment to English tradition characterized his thinking. Any reform bill would be final, he said, in the only way in which a wise man used that word. He harbored no thought that the ministers pretended to legislate for another generation in which changing conditions might demand a new system.[52]

A country which had just passed the Reform Bill found monopoly and exclusiveness intolerable. Because they had extended their own franchise, Englishmen could hardly agree to exclude the Indians from high offices in their own country.[53] On these broad philosophical principles of humanitarianism and universal toleration Macaulay was speaking the thoughts of his countrymen. He admitted his considerations were practical as well as idealistic, saying "To trade with civilised men is infinitely more profitable than to govern savages."[54] But Macaulay was significantly motivated by deep respect for an Englishman's duty to a subject nation. His Educational Minute and his Penal Code were evidence of his carrying such convictions into action. He practiced toleration not only toward groups who might increase markets but toward groups whose interests conflicted with his own. Before 1840, for instance, he had supported the removal of civil disabilities for the Jews.[55] Later, he favored emancipation of the slaves, staked his career upon his proposal to give educational facilities to the Catholics, and was an active friend of Dissenters. The pattern of his life indicated that his support for reform was not chiefly occasioned by ulterior motives.

The humanitarian spirit nourished by Wesley, Burke, and Wilberforce and the desire of the native Indians to learn from the West also encouraged Macaulay to urge a change in the educational policy for India. He regarded development of an English system of education as a necessity.[56] In spite of these benevolent intentions, Macaulay nonetheless showed a distinct lack of appreciation for the customs, institutions, and achievements of India, a nation not comparable with England. He bespoke the insularity of the Victorian mind which failed to appreciate sufficiently the culture of the Orient.

He also pled for justice and fairness in response to the demands of the Irish. Although Catholicism was unacceptable to him, he sympathized with the majority of Irishmen who were unwilling to support the Anglican Church in Ireland.[57] Tolerance for religious beliefs which he could not accept, as well as regard for the political hopes of the people of another country, was basic to his speeches on the Irish question in 1845.

Macaulay also directed the thinking of the House to an exploration of humanitarian principles, not details, in the Ten Hours Bill. He was concerned with the need for recognizing that leg-

51 "We talk of the wisdom of our ancestors: and in one respect at least they were wiser than we. They legislated for their own times. They looked at the England which was before them." Macaulay, pp. 6-7.

52 Macaulay, p. 32.

53 "I allude to that wise, that benevolent, that noble clause, which enacts that no native of our Indian empire shall, by reason of his colour, his descent, or his religion, be incapable of holding office." Macaulay, p. 164.

54 Macaulay, p. 166.

55 Macaulay, pp. 114-127.

56 "It is scarcely possible to calculate the benefits which we might derive from the diffusion of European civilization among the vast population of the East." Macaulay, pp. 165-166.

57 Macaulay, pp. 97-113.

islation was needed to safeguard the health and morals of the English people. He argued that because intense labor begun too early in life left no time for healthful exercise or improvement of the mind, it was necessary for the government to legislate if England were to have a strong and wise population.[58] He could not see how that which made "a population stronger, and healthier and wiser, and better, could ultimately make it poorer."[59] Macaulay continued to believe that a nation could be strong only if the individual welfare of its citizens was improved. While not leading public thought on this question, he was sensitive to the humanitarian spirit of his age.

Macaulay argued that Parliamentary deliberation should be extended to the entire populace. Agitation, he thought, could not be separated from popular government because the principle of representative government presupposed freedom of discussion, the right of the people to be informed through the written and the spoken word: "It is as necessary to the good government of the country that our constituents should debate as that we should debate."[60] He showed that neither slave trade nor slavery would have been abolished nor the penal code improved without agitation.[61] In 1840, he differentiated between agitation and rebellion by comparing them to the acts of the surgeon and of the assassin which, alike in many respects, differed widely in moral and physical effect. He suggested that agitation could be condemned only when the people had nothing to do with the laws but to obey them,[62] but in his speeches on reform he did not develop fully the principle according to which society might safely encourage agitation without danger to the social stability to which he was also strongly attached.

Parodying the Venetian proverb, Macaulay considered himself "first an Englishman, then a Whig."[63] His partisan attack on Peel and the Tories was a factious speech, but although he accused the Tories of usurping Liberal principles when the status of the country forced them to do so, he was not completely blinded by party spirit. History proved accurate his prediction that the administration of Peel would fail through internal causes.[64] It was distinctly to his credit that despite his attack upon his political adversaries, he supported their bill providing support to the education of Catholic priests. He voted for the bill mindful that he risked the seat in Parliament which he would not hold "by an ignominious tenure."[65]

An orator's character and force of personality cannot be separated from the impression he conveys through the medium of speech. Macaulay, representative of British respectability—called Philistinism by some—exhibited common sense, optimism, and integrity both in his private life and in the Commons. Influenced perhaps by his father, a member of the Clapham Sect, and the Evangelicalism of a private school, Macaulay acquired moral convictions which motivated both his personal and his political life. He did not believe in expending money on elections, in humbling himself in order to win favors or votes, or in pledging himself in order to win an election. Sydney Smith, not always complimentary to Macaulay, summarized the feeling of his countrymen, "I believe Macaulay to be incorruptible.

[58] Macaulay, pp. 448-449.
[59] Macaulay, p. 463.
[60] Macaulay, p. 201.
[61] Macaulay, pp. 196-200.
[62] Macaulay, pp. 199-201.
[63] Macaulay, p. 201.
[64] Macaulay, p. 204.
[65] Macaulay, p. 387.

You might lay ribbons, stars, garter, wealth, titles before him in vain. He has an honest genuine love of his country, and the world would not bribe him to neglect his interests."[66] The high standards which he set for himself did not make public performances easy for him. Although only his family and his intimate friends were allowed to know his unselfish, affectionate nature, he championed tolerance and freedom for all races and creeds.

In his Parliamentary speaking, Macaulay apparently compensated for unsatisfactory voice and bodily action by his frank, courageous presentation of material and his general reputation for incorruptibility. He compensated for lack of spontaneity by satisfying his listeners that he was a thoroughly prepared speaker who did not demand the ear of the House unless he had something to say.

The fact that opponents spent so much time directing answers to Macaulay's arguments indicated that his speaking had immediate impact. His philosophy of Parliamentary reform and his ideas relative to the government and education of India and the disestablishment of the Irish Church were incorporated into the legislation of England. The underlying principle of his thinking on the Ten Hours Bill had an effect which can be seen in the more complete code for the protection of labor in the twentieth century.

Amplifying the ideas of the socially and economically emergent middle class, he was a representative rather than an original thinker. He was the great reconciler of the old with the new, the statesman who mirrored Whig optimism. He could estimate with great sagacity and state with clearness and force those changes in the government of the country which popular feeling demanded and which could not be denied. His speeches illustrated the dictum that knowledge is power, and the fervor of his convictions lent persuasion to his ideas.

Macaulay, in the tradition of Burke, Fox, and Pitt, adjusted well to that most difficult arena, the House of Commons. Although he lacked the pugnacity and the spontaneity usually attributed to a superior debater, he was an able, intellectual extemporizer who exhibited sound proof and closely knit reasoning. His language was neither exuberant nor highly embellished; neither was it finely drawn nor subtle. It was clear, direct, forceful—entirely suitable to Parliamentary performance. His ideas and language, however, often indicated the prejudicial point of view of the Whig advocate who was determined to answer all difficulties. Unhappily, he was not forced to argue during the darkest period of English history nor to face insuperable odds that might have stimulated his powers. He missed the clash of events which might have brought out his best combative attributes, modified his calculated utterance, and qualified his Whig optimism. Yet his speeches were characterized by effective appeals to the taste, good sense, and reason of a body of practical men. Had Macaulay originated ideas or legislation, had he devoted himself exclusively to his Parliamentary career, and had he given time and thought to delivery, he might have attained the rank of first speaker of his age.

[66] "Lord Macaulay," *Westminster Review*, CVI (1876), 1.

DEMOCRATIC ETHICS AND THE HIDDEN PERSUADERS

Franklyn S. Haiman

1.

DRAMATIC new developments in science and technology have become so commonplace in recent years that the American public seems to have grown largely indifferent to them. Yet we are still not completely immune to excitement in the face of extraordinary advances on the frontiers of knowledge. Russia's first Sputniks captured our imagination and set the whole country talking about science and satellites. Meanwhile another technological event of considerable importance has set tongues furiously wagging among those who have heard about it. This is the experimentation which has taken place with subliminal cues in advertising—the process whereby the name or picture of a product is flashed on a motion picture or television screen so rapidly that it cannot be seen by the conscious eye. The message is registered in the fringes of the viewer's attention and, it is claimed, may thus motivate him to buy.[1]

Subliminal cues, for whatever they may be worth, are but the latest weapon in the arsenal of the psychological manipulator, the creature so vividly exposed in Vance Packard's best-selling *The Hidden Persuaders*. The fact that this book, originally marketed by a relatively small publishing house, has attained such widespread prominence is itself convincing evidence that the public is concerned. After many years of exposure to various methods of hidden persuasion people are beginning to take notice. They are becoming aware of the extent and efficiency of the manipulator of the psyche in our society—in advertising, in politics, and in religion—and are beginning to examine the legitimacy of his activities.

Who is the hidden persuader and how does he differ from the ordinary advocate? He can best be defined by describing the common denominator of his techniques. Whether they be subliminal cues, mass hypnosis, constant repetition, loaded language, the subtle use of social pressures, or the appeal to irrelevant loves, hates, and fears, they all seek the same kind of response from the listener or viewer. They attempt to make him buy, vote, or believe in a certain way by short-circuiting his conscious thought processes and planting suggestions or exerting pressures on the periphery of his consciousness which are intended to produce automatic, nonreflective behavior. The methods are similar to those of Pavlov's famous conditioned-reflex experiments with dogs. Ring a bell and the dog salivates. No thought processes intervene here. Noncritical reflex action—this is the goal of the hidden persuader.

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[1] A survey of related experimentation recently reported by James V. McConnell, Richard L. Cutler, and Elton B. McNeil, "Subliminal Stimulation: An Overview," *The American Psychologist*, XIII (May, 1958), 229-242, concludes that research evidence is still quite insufficient to warrant these claims.

2.

The average American appears to feel considerable ambivalence in regard to hidden persuasion. He vaguely senses there may be something wrong about it, but when asked to say why, is usually unable to present cogent arguments. He frequently resorts to the proposition that it is not the methods of persuasion in themselves which pose a danger but rather that they may be used in the promotion of evil causes. In other words, the techniques are evaluated in terms of the goals which they serve, and if the ends are good, the means are justified.

Hence the typical American is horrified when he hears about the success with which the Communist Chinese use psychological devices to accomplish their indoctrination programs, but he is quite ready to embrace the notion that we must fight fire with fire and do a more thorough job of brain-washing our own people (although he would not call it that) in the "American Way of Life." A British psychiatrist, Dr. William Sargent, author of a chilling Pavlovian book entitled *Battle for the Mind*, exemplifies this viewpoint when he states: "The Chinese Communists had the sense to avoid a purely intellectual approach," and proceeds to suggest that we, in the West, must ourselves become more proficient manipulators of the psyche.

Americans deplore the mass conformity of the Brave New World behind the Iron Curtain, yet raise hardly a voice in objection to the social pressures and exploitation of man's conforming tendencies that are involved in such "good causes" as Tag Days and passing the plate in church. They condemn the oversimplification of issues in Russian propaganda, yet crowd, 92,000 strong, into Yankee Stadium on July 20, 1957, to listen attentively as Billy Graham, according to the *New York Times*, "reviewed the ills of the world from economics to moral deterioration and declared that Christ is the only answer to our problems and dilemmas."

Nor is it an insignificant sign of public acceptance that the Vice-President of the United States was seated on the platform at that rally and exchanged words of mutual praise with the evangelist. "A young man with vision, integrity and courage," said Billy of Dick. "A sincere, humble man," said Dick of Billy. Their appreciation of one another is understandable. Mr. Nixon undoubtedly gained admission to the guild of hidden persuaders by his noted television performance of September 23, 1952, when he sought to clear himself of campaign charges that he had accepted financial support in questionable ways:

> I don't believe that I ought to quit, because I am not a quitter and incidentally Pat is not a quitter. After all, her name was Patricia Ryan and she was born on St. Patrick's Day. And you know the Irish never quit.

Although there may have been a sizable minority who were not favorably influenced by this speech, few have questioned the morality of its techniques.

This philosophy that the methods of persuasion a man uses are in themselves amoral; that one who is sincere, right thinking, and working in behalf of good causes or sound products is justified in using whatever skills he may possess to win acceptance of his ends; that social pressures and the like are contemptible only when used by those whom we think are evil—this philosophy, which is held by great numbers of our people, is what causes their dilemma as they face the newly publicized subliminal cue technique. Little wonder that there is no basis for condemning it out of hand. After all, it might be used by sincere, right-thinking people who are working in behalf of good causes. And is it really

so different from the other methods we have known before? True, it may succeed in refining the art of manipulation to a higher perfection than has heretofore been attained, but the intent is essentially the same. In order to condemn subliminal cues alone, some distinguishing feature must be found. The truth is that the difference is only one of degree. The method of subliminal cues is but a farther step along the same road that the hidden persuaders have been travelling for centuries—the road which circumvents man's mind and reason in order to elicit non-reflective, semi-conscious or unconscious responses. Those who have at last been shocked, by the discovery of the subliminal cue technique or by Mr. Packard's book, into facing the problem of the ethics of persuasion may now join hands with those who since the time of Plato's argument with the Sophists have been seeking to find a satisfactory answer to this dilemma. Although the problem has been with us for centuries it may be that, as in the case of warfare, the weapons have now become so potent that the question can no longer be left to the idle musings of the philosophers.

3.

How, then, can our people be convinced that not only the use of the subliminal cue technique should be fought, but that along with it they must declare war on an entire battery of practices which they have grown accustomed to accept, and in some cases even to admire? What logic can be advanced for their consideration?

They must first be brought to recognize that the difficulty in comprehending what is wrong about psychological manipulation stems from an even more basic failure to understand one of the tenets upon which a democratic society is built—the principle that the end does *not* justify the means. We all know, at least verbally, that democracy is based upon the dignity of the individual human being. What we may not fully appreciate is that this concept involves the premise, now well established both historically and psychologically, that man is different from lower animals in that he is less governed by automatic instinct and more aware of himself and, as a result of these two qualities, capable of making conscious choices. Theologians call this difference the soul, humanists call it the power of reason—but whatever it be labelled it postulates a capacity of man to govern, within certain limits, his own behavior. Democracy rejects the premise that the "people is a beast," that the individual is an instinctual creature who can only be moved by the manipulation of his emotions and reflexes.

The realist recognizes, of course, that man's capacity rationally to govern himself varies tremendously from one person or society to another, depending on the degree of intelligence, education, maturity, and experience in self-government that is involved. But the democratic realist is also aware that growth is the first law of life and that man's potentialities are, and must be, constantly developing. Democracy is, in fact, primarily dedicated to the proposition that anything which helps in the development of the strength, productiveness, and happiness of the individual is good, and that anything which blocks or hinders his growth in these directions is immoral.

The hidden persuader, whether he is aware of it or not, is engaging in a non-democratic practice. He takes advantage of the fact that although men may have the latent capacity for making rational, conscious choices, they are also part animal and as such can be exploited. They can, within limits, be made to

respond reflexively. They can be moved to action by suggestions and pressure in the fringes of their consciousness. But because they can be so moved does not mean that they should be so moved, and anyone who so moves them only intensifies their tendencies to respond immaturely and thwarts their growth toward the more dignified humanity which democracy presumes.

4.

Lest there be some misunderstanding, it should be emphasized that not all persuasion is undemocratic, nor is it immoral for people to try to influence one another. There are many methods of persuasion, even of appeal to the emotions, which are perfectly in keeping with democratic standards. A film designed to raise funds for cerebral palsy which shows crippled children being helped as a result of donations that have been made to their cause is employing emotional appeal but is not necessarily attempting to short-circuit the viewer's thought processes. As a matter of fact, it may even stimulate his thinking by bringing him into vivid contact with a problem he has not thought about before. If the purpose of dramatization is to help people face reality—as has been done so effectively by so-called problem movies like *The Men, Gentlemen's Agreement, Home of the Brave,* and *Hatful of Rain*—this can hardly be construed, even though it may have tremendous emotional impact, as an attempt to get around their good judgment. On the other hand, an emotional appeal *may* be designed to stir the listener or viewer to set reason aside and respond *before* he thinks, in which case it falls into the category of hidden persuasion and violates democratic ethics. As Clyde Miller says of propaganda techniques: "They make us believe and do something we would not believe or do if we thought about it calmly, dispassionately."[2] Democratic persuasion, in contrast, leaves the man on the receiving end with a choice. One does not choose freely if he is unaware of what he is doing.

It may be argued that most of the techniques of hidden persuasion referred to in this article, with the possible exception of subliminal cues and hypnosis, do leave man with a choice. He does not have to string a tag through his lapel on Tag Day, and if he does, it is because he has chosen to do so. To be sure, with techniques like social pressure and loaded language it is theoretically possible for a man to become discriminating enough to detect them and then to make a choice as to whether or not he will respond to their influence. At least he has the sensory equipment for so doing, which might not be the case with subliminal cues and hypnosis. If one is to be realistic, however, he must admit that in most instances, for most people, the social, economic, and emotional pressures are so great and the degree of awareness of them so slight that any freedom of choice that may exist is quite negligible. It is interesting to note in an article on the Billy Graham campaign which appeared in the *Christian Century* last year the author, Mr. Harold Fey, was repulsed not by the techniques of evangelistic persuasion in themselves (the inherent dangers of which he seems not to recognize) but by the fact that Mr. Graham's organization has perfected them to such a high degree that their success is almost infallible. He was horrified by the machine-like precision of the tactics used and seems to prefer the cruder good-old-days when the listener had at least a

[2] Clyde R. Miller, *Propaganda Analysis,* Institute for Propaganda Analysis, I (November, 1937), 1-2.

fighting chance of being unaffected. In short, we may conclude that consciousness, and the freedom of choice which it makes possible, is a matter of degree; that some advocates evade more of it than others; and that each of us may want to draw the line of objection at a slightly different point on the continuum. But the basic principle must remain unclouded—that to the extent that a persuader seeks to gain uncritical acceptance of his views, whatever that extent may be, he is in violation of democratic ideals.

5.

Another matter which sometimes fogs the ethical issue is the question of audience adaptation. If one rules out hidden persuasion, it is argued, does it not follow logically that a speaker must ignore the Aristotelian wisdom that he dress in a manner which will be acceptable to his audience, that he avoid using language which will offend them, and that if his views are diametrically opposed to theirs he make some adaptation in order to avoid incurring their hostility? Are these not attempts to influence the listener in the fringes of his consciousness?

It must be admitted that such factors do influence an audience and that they are responded to in a semi-conscious way. The speaker, however, by observing these amenities, is not necessarily attempting to gain uncritical acceptance of his ideas. He may simply be trying to avoid uncritical rejection. It must be recognized that people can respond reflexively *against* something as well as for something. If a speaker comes before them who sharply violates their norms in dress, language, or viewpoint, they might automatically close their minds to him and absorb nothing of what he says. There is no real chance for his cause to gain a fair, objective hearing. If, therefore, in the interests of rationality, he seeks to avoid being blocked by their prejudices, he is in no wise attempting to circumscribe the listeners' freedom of choice. He is, in fact, attempting to broaden it. If, however, he goes so far in his adaptation to the audience that he never reveals in any way his differences with them, and attempts to use his prestige and fluency, if he has them, to gain acceptance of an idea or product they would not accept if they examined it carefully, he has then misused this particular method of persuasion. "Getting by on one's good looks" is a practice most of us condemn among our friends and yet strangely tolerate on the public platform.

6.

But, it will be argued, is it not unrealistic for us to believe that human beings, even in a democratic society, can be brought to refrain from all of these practices of hidden persuasion? Can we truly expect the television advertiser not to hire the most attractive young men and women he can find for his commercials, and not exploit their sex appeal to the fullest extent possible? What difference does it make if we buy our soap because the color of the wrapper revives pleasant childhood memories? How are our great charity-supported institutions to survive if we do not use a little psychological coercion to raise funds? How can good people get elected to office without engaging in some oversimplification along the way?

This is the familiar "you've got to be realistic" philosophy that idealists in all fields have been fighting for ages. Perhaps where the idealists have gone wrong is in failing to realize, in the first place, that an absolutist attitude toward a problem wins few converts. Even the best of men, moralists included, will "sin" occasionally. Hidden per-

suasion, like any other "evil," is dangerous only when it becomes the chronic or predominant pattern of behavior of an individual or group. We can forgive a Harry Truman or a Richard Nixon his occasional blows below the belt if we are convinced that these are not typical of most of his behavior, but if these men are chronic and severe offenders, they become a menace to a democratic society. So long as hidden persuasion is largely confined to the sale of soap and cereal we need not become greatly exercised, but when it becomes the all-pervading mode of appeal in a society—the rule rather than the exception—it is time to sound the alarm. When we examine current practices in American business, politics, and religion, we may well conclude that this time is fast approaching.

A second error commonly made by idealists is the failure to realize that a moral appeal, in and of itself, is rarely sufficient to overcome the "you've got to be realistic" philosophy. Before people will give up, or at least try to limit, a mode of behavior, they must be convinced that it is in their interests to do so. Can the hidden persuader be so convinced? Can he be shown that his methods not only are unnecessary but ultimately ineffective in achieving his ends? Let us explore some possibilities.

7.

In the first place, it can be pointed out to him that most people possess some degree of immunity against hidden persuasion. Particularly with regard to those questions which are important to them, and about which they possess some knowledge, their capacity to resist suggestion and to maintain their autonomy of thought and action is sometimes surprising.

Furthermore, psychology is far from an exact science, and so long as man is an autonomous being, at least theoretically capable of conscious choice, he will be somewhat unpredictable to his fellow men. To gamble millions of dollars, on the basis of "motivation research," that the Edsel car can be given a "personality" that will successfully appeal to the "young executive" is risky business indeed.

But, argues the advocate of hidden persuasion, have not psychology and psychoanalysis proved that human beings do not operate on a rational basis? Is it not true that their behavior and beliefs are motivated and governed by the unconscious? If so, does it not follow that we must direct our persuasion to the unconscious if we are to get results?

There is no question that Freud and those who followed him have revealed the potency of unconscious motivation and have demonstrated that man does not operate in a rational vacuum. But they have also demonstrated something else which the hidden persuader seems not to understand. Psychoanalysis, at its very core, is based upon the premise that under the proper conditions man is capable of bringing to light the unconscious factors which affect him, of subjecting them to the critical scrutiny of his conscious mind, and of thus learning to live with them and use them productively rather than being blindly driven by them. Freud, in his relentless searching after truth, may have uncovered the beast in man, but his whole life was dedicated to the proposition that man, through his unique capacity for self-awareness, can and often does rise above the level of the beast. To the hidden persuader who justifies his methods on the grounds that "you cannot move men by reason," it should be pointed out that so long as an advocate is aware of his listener's emotional needs, and takes them into account, there is no more ef-

fective way in the long run to move him than to help make him conscious of these motives and to show him, clearly and rationally, how he can best fulfill them. This is the appeal to enlightened self-interest—a process which provides a more solid and lasting basis for conviction and action than the fickle responses of the unconscious.

8.

For the hit-and-run category of hidden persuaders, those interested in the short haul and the fast buck, these arguments may not be convincing. They know that men do respond impulsively much of the time and that this tendency can be exploited to considerable personal advantage. What they may not know is that in the process they do serious harm to themselves. When one talks with individuals who are committed to the philosophy of manipulating people, one finds that they do not themselves like to be manipulated by others. The fallacy of their position is that the two sides of the coin cannot be split apart. As T. V. Smith and Eduard Lindeman point out in *The Democratic Way of Life:* "The doctrine that the end justifies the means is not merely immoral but unscientific. A person's character finally takes on the pattern of his acts, not his wishes . . . we become what we do."[3] Just as a good cause can be sullied by the means used to achieve it—"the end pre-exists in the means," said Emerson—so a man can become contaminated by his actions. To manipulate others he must become an actor, and to be an effective actor of this sort requires that he manipulate his own emotions. He must learn to appear sincere when he is not, to be friendly when he is hostile, to seem angry when he feels no anger. Several years of such acting and he no longer knows who he really is or what he really feels. He is nothing but a set of masks, and even he does not know which mask he prefers. The hidden persuader must be brought to realize that he is a slave of the same game to which he subjects others.

9.

Does all this apply, it may be asked, to individuals who manipulate others unconsciously—men who believe so devoutly or fanatically in the causes they advocate that they engage in hidden persuasion without knowing it? Here, of course, we have the problem of determining that elusive thing called sincerity so that we may know whether the attempts at manipulation were truly unconscious. Was Mark Antony simply thinking out loud and communicating his own true feelings about Caesar's assassination to the friends, Romans, and countrymen who lent him their ears, or did he deliberately plan the masterful hidden persuasion which roused them to riot? Did Adolph Hitler really believe that the Jews were a menace to the "Aryan race," or did he coldly calculate and promote this scapegoat mechanism as a device to unify the German people behind him? These questions may be impossible to answer. But for the sake of argument, let us assume that these men were completely sincere and entirely unaware of the techniques they were employing. Are they then any less guilty of unethical practices than the deliberate hidden persuader?

Perhaps we can make the same kind of distinction here that we do in the field of jurisprudence between premeditated crimes and crimes of passion. Although we tend to be less harsh in our

[3] T.V. Smith and Eduard C. Lindeman, *The Democratic Way of Life,* Revised Edition (New York, 1951), p. 126.

and a popular standard for public utterance.

1.

In the early years of the republic, the anniversary of independence was a solemn, quasi-religious ceremonial. In New England, and frequently in the middle and southern states, formal exercises were held in one of the large churches in the town. Following the pattern of the Protestant church service, a prayer was spoken, a hymn or ode sung, the Declaration was read, the oration was delivered, another hymn or ode was sung, and prayer closed the ritual. These events were often preceded by a procession of the city government, the clergy, military companies, and other dignitaries. Church bells were rung and cannon fired at dawn and sunset. Although recreation marked the day, the prevailing solemnity of the ceremony and its climactic address were everywhere recognized.[3]

The orator assumed it his obligation to remind his hearers of their unique identity as citizens of the United States, to restate national ideals, and to instruct all in the ways these ideals might be preserved. A reading of over 800 of the almost 2,500 extant printed orations shows a growing homogeneity in the expression of national values, as themes announced in the early orations are repeatedly elaborated by orators who followed in the years before 1876. This annual repetition of a consistent code of national values must have helped in no small way to build what Walter Lippmann has called "the public philosophy" commonly held in the minds and actions of mid-nineteenth-century Americans. And, it may be, the decline in observance of the Fourth of July with an annual ceremonial reiteration of these values—together with other factors—led to the loss of the "public philosophy" and the current ambivalence popular understanding or misunderstanding of our national identity has given to the conduct of our domestic and foreign affairs.

What was this codex of values annunciated in successive orations on the anniversaries of Independence? One part of it consisted of an image of American society. Orators from the first declared the uniqueness of America's mission as a nation. Reaffirming the claims of the colonists, orators saw bountiful evidence that God had chosen this nation "for the special purpose of making her a signal instrument in the political and moral regeneration of the world."[4] The discovery of America at the dawn of the Enlightenment was taken as proof that God had saved this nation for some consummate purpose. His hand in preserving the early settlements, defeating the French, upholding patriot arms in the Revolution, and establishing forms of civil government unique in the history of human society, was repeatedly acknowledged. "He must be an atheist," exclaimed an orator in Newburyport, "who in scenes like these, discerns not the finger of God."[5] Because of God's apparent interest in America, it was readily assumed that this nation was to enact a central role in the world's future. "I am convinced," asserted David Ramsay in Charleston, "that the cause of America is the cause of Human Nature, and that it will extend its influence to thousands who will never see it."[6]

[3] These generalizations are based upon a study of the evolving ceremonial in newspaper reports in every section of the country between 1777 and 1876, journals, diaries, periodical accounts, and journals of state and local history.

[4] James D. Knowles, Washington, 1823, p. 13. Since titles were rarely distinctive and publication information usually identical with place and date of delivery, these facts have been omitted from footnotes.

[5] Richard H. Dana, Newburyport, 1814, p. 5.

[6] P. 16.

This regeneration was to operate through America's example which, observed Joel Barlow, "will excite emulation through the kingdoms of the earth, and meliorate the condition of the human race."[7] Until that glorious liberation, America was bound to be "the asylum for freemen from all quarters of the globe."[8] This view of America became a stereotype, and an orator in 1819 declared that "this new world is now distinguished as 'the asylum of all nations.'"[9] Our liberal immigration policies, unchanged throughout the nineteenth century, testified that this image was not of words alone. Even when, at mid-century, nativist groups became concerned over rising numbers of immigrants, the ideal of America's asylum was substantially unchallenged on the Fourth of July.

The image cast by anniversary orators of American society also emphasized its middle-class tenor. That we had spurned an hereditary aristocratic class, that most of our citizens were neither poor nor rich, that the republican virtues of respect for hard work, frugality, and simplicity in living were everywhere ascendant were repeatedly remarked by Fourth of July speakers. It was stated with pride that "we have no privileged casts, or orders of citizens,"[10] "no *distinctions* of rank, no *degrees* of right, to tarnish the *natural equality* for which they fought and conquered."[11] Orators frequently expressed fears that American middle-class society might be subverted either by the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a few or by a growing taste for luxury that would undermine republican virtues. "The happy class of society," explained one orator, "is the industrious class—be they rich, be they poor, or be they in that better condition petitioned for by him who said, 'Give me neither poverty nor riches.' It is in this middle station, that peace and dignity are most frequently found."[12]

Besides an image of the nation, the amalgam of national values was made up also of an understanding of the political, economic, and cultural foundations of American uniqueness.

In the first place, orators throughout the nineteenth century gave voice to the ideals of the Declaration of Independence: the right of self-government, the legitimacy of the right of revolution, and the political equality of all men. Orators repeatedly reaffirmed that "all power not originated in the consent of the people; all power not exercised according to their direction, and subject to their controul, is usurpation, injustice and tyranny."[13] Charles Francis Adams speaking in 1843 regretted the acquisition of Louisiana by executive action because it violated this tenet of the Declaration. Nor did orators hold this ideal as applicable to America alone; this principle, declared one orator who represents the opinions of many others, "should be the firm foundation of every good government."[14]

While careful to warn against changing governments for light or transient causes, most orators did not flinch from reaffirming the right of revolution. Notions of the "higher law" and of "certain fixed and unchangeable maxims" which no constitution can change nor need declare were frequently set forth by anniversary orators. And, though obviously prizing governmental stability,

[7] New Haven, 1787, p. 142.
[8] David Ramsay, Charleston, 1778, p. 16.
[9] Benjamin Gleason, Charlestown (Mass.), 1819, p. 6.
[10] Henry W. DeSaussure, Charleston, 1798, p. 27.
[11] William Lance, Charleston, 1820, p. 7.
[12] Charles Pickett, Sacramento, 1857, p. 6.
[13] Jonathan Maxcy, Providence, 1795, pp. 10-11.
[14] Elias Boudinot, Elizabethtown, 1793, p. 22.

Fourth of July speakers continued to assert the right of revolution until the centennial.

The ideal of political equality for all men, tacitly assumed by most early orators, became the battle-cry of abolitionist forces before and during the Civil War. Discussions of Negro slavery in these orations inevitably had recourse to the dicta of the Declaration that "all men are created equal." Garrison's anniversary tirades, although they are the most intemperate, fairly state the allegiance to this political principle. "And not until, by a formal vote, the people repudiate the Declaration of Independence as a rotten and dangerous instrument," he cried, "and cease to keep this festival in honor of liberty, . . . not until they spike every cannon, and muffle every bell, and disband every procession, and quench every bonfire, and gag every orator; not until they brand Washington, and Adams, and Jefferson, and Hancock, as fanatics and madmen . . . will I argue the question . . . whether our slaves are entitled to the rights and privileges of freemen."[15] Northern victory in the war was taken as stirring vindication of the principle of political equality.

National independence from Europe was considered another pillar of American uniqueness. The desire for actual independence was one motive behind frequent expressions of pride in the growth of American industry. Several orators perceived the advantages of Jefferson's embargo in forcing Americans to do for themselves instead of relying upon foreign manufactures.[16] Pride in native industry continued an important theme of orations through the centennial year. Internal improvements—roads, canals, and railroads—were urged from the same motivation. More important to American independence, in the view of anniversary orators, was the development of a distinctly American culture. "Let us preserve *real independence*; establish a standard of *taste*, and of *opinion*, of *action*, purely our own,"[17] admonished one orator. Smarting from the barbs of Sydney Smith and the troop of European travelers who went home to write critical estimates of American civilization, orators replied in kind by reviling the "hireling tourists and mercenary reviewers of Europe,"[18] "the vilest spawnings of Grub-Street and Billingsgate,"[19] and "the vagrant journalists—sent here to prowl about our country."[20] This done, they proceeded to urge that we develop a national literature, a national art, music, and oratory, a national university, a national architecture—all the products of the unique life of a great people.[21]

Apparently, American distinctiveness rested also upon our singular form of constitutionalism. Unanimous enthusiasm—which later turned to reverence—for the constitution was an inevitable theme of nineteenth-century Fourth of July orations. With Webster's help, constitutionalism was bound up with the integrity of the federal union, and orators after 1830 frequently borrowed or paraphrased Webster's ringing cry, "Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."[22]

[15] William Lloyd Garrison, Boston, 1838, p. 7.

[16] See Nathan Weston, Augusta (Me.), 1810, p. 18; Daniel W. Lincoln, Boston, 1810, p. 15; Martin Ruter, Canterbury (N.H.), 1810.

[17] Samuel Thacher, Concord, 1796, p. 21.

[18] John Davis, Worcester, 1816, pp. 19-20.

[19] Aaron Vanderpoel, Kinderhook (N.Y.), 1824, pp. 7-8.

[20] Levi Hubbell, Albany, 1835, p. 13.

[21] See Henry C. Johnson, Conneautville (Pa.), 1858, pp. 3-5; Charles P. James, Cincinnati, 1853; Milton Maxcy, Schenectady, 1803, p. 13; John Whipple, Providence, 1838, p. 26; George F. Gordon, Philadelphia, 1858, pp. 11-12.

[22] See Josiah Quincy, Boston, 1832, p. 21; C. H. Lee, Alexandria (Va.), 1832; Edward G. Prescott, Boston, 1833; Wells S. Hammond,

Discussion of civil liberties in anniversary speeches, while not always reflecting current progress in the achievement of such liberties, constantly displayed a reverence for freedom of the press and freedom of conscience. Federalist reservations upon freedom of speech in the Alien and Sedition Laws were derided by Republican orators, and after Jefferson's election and the repeal of those noxious acts Fourth of July orators gave universal approval to unhampered freedom of expression.[23]

The political importance of free public education, an all but universal theme of anniversary addresses, was another fundamental element of American uniqueness. "Learning and education qualify a people for the noble purposes of being happily governed," explained one speaker, "while ignorance renders them inattentive to their rights and prepares them for the chains of slavery which ambition is ever ready to rivet."[24] The universal view was tersely expressed by a Boston orator. "It is not a subject on which we should allow ourselves to talk of expenses," he said; "the public revenues are the people's, and they have nothing to spare for other objects till this be accomplished."[25]

This code of national values culminated in, and was in turn supported by, the belief in progress. Conviction of America's mission, under God's direction, led Americans to view the future in rapturous expectation. The affirmations of Rousseau, Chastellux, and Condorcet were confirmed on all sides by American experience. "The history of the United States," observed an orator, "is the record of constant achievement."[26] Man's potentialities are unlimited, orators assumed, if he can but be educated and provided with a society in which his best talents can expand. It was a short step from this conviction to the ringing affirmation: "The course of progress is ever onward, and though races and empires have their dotage, the world never stands still, but marches on with an unfaltering step, and in that weary journey, one by one, it throws off its errors."[27]

2.

While it was important as a ceremonial incantation that created and maintained national values, the Fourth of July oration was also significant as an oratorical-literary piece that mirrored and perpetuated a rhetorical tradition and a popular standard of public utterance. Several things testify to its importance as a literary piece. First, is the frequent publication in pamphlet form of these anniversary productions. Between 1777 and 1876 almost 2,500 orations were printed in this form. Although it is hard to estimate the average size of editions, we know that all printed by the Connecticut Society of the Cincinnati between 1785 and 1804 were editions of 300 copies, and that several printed about mid-century had editions of 1,500 to 2,000 copies. Horace Mann's oration in Boston in 1842 enjoyed an edition of 17,000 and another of 10,000, but this was surely uncommon. Several of the Boston orations went through several editions. Charles Sprague's in 1826 appeared in six editions; William Alger's in 1857 had four. Some orations were published in their entirety in newspapers. A few were

Cherry Valley (N.Y.), 1835; Charles W. Nichols, "Henry M. Nichols and Frontier Minnesota," *Minnesota History*, XIX (1938), 251; John Jay, Mt. Kisko (N.Y.), 1861, p. 50.

[23] Mention of the advantages of freedom of speech and conscience were frequent in orations throughout the first hundred years of the anniversary.

[24] Samuel Whitwell, Boston, 1789, p. 8.

[25] Henry Orne, Boston, 1820, p. 12.

[26] Ivers J. Austin, Boston, 1839, p. 5.

[27] Edward Hartley, Washington, 1855, p. 14.

collected in anthologies of public addresses.

Published orations, moreover, apparently were carefully read. Manuscript remarks on several of the copies in the Library of Congress show that readers criticized the speaker's rhetoric and refuted his arguments in their penned notes. The diaries and correspondence of several of the Adamses, of Daniel Webster and his brother Ezekiel, and of Jefferson all indicate familiarity with and critical interest in the anniversary orations. John Adams apparently went to great trouble to examine Caleb Cushing's oration in 1821, for he wrote, "Although unfortunately my eyes have been so ill that I could not read, yet I had the pleasure of hearing read your oration on the Fourth of July and have never heard nor read a better."[28] An oration by Thomas Foster in Duluth, Minnesota, in 1868, in which the speaker characterized that Lake Superior town as "the Zenith City of the Unsalted Seas," was credited with having attracted "hundreds of new settlers, capitalists, and adventurers."[29] Some orations stimulated such discussion that nothing less than a pamphlet or periodical review gave the critic necessary scope. Five pamphlets attacked John Quincy Adams' oration in 1821; William F. Otis' oration in 1831 received like treatment. A number of orations were reviewed in the literary journals. The speeches of Charles Sumner (1845), Rufus Choate (1858), George Sumner (1859), and John Jay (1861) drew such attention.[30] The Boston *Anthology* is said to have reviewed Fourth of July orations during 1805 as a large part of its review of American literature.[31] Moreover, newspapers quite commonly reviewed the substance of Independence Day orations.

The rhetorical tradition upon which the Fourth of July oration rested was that of the commemorative address. Aristotle had named "epideictic" oratory as one of the three branches of rhetoric and had characterized it as panegyric or declamatory speech for exhibition or display.[32] Quintilian had declared the "peculiar business" of this kind of speech to be the amplification and embellishment of its subjects.[33] But it was Hugh Blair, the Scotch Presbyterian preacher, whose *Lectures* were most responsible for the cast of oratorical training in early nineteenth-century America. Although Blair did not slight invention and arrangement, the sheer volume of his advice on style must have created the impression in the mind of a hasty reader that style was of prime importance to the speaker. Over half of the first of three volumes dealt with figurative language and the periodic sentence. Blair's second volume classified levels of style in a manner that indicated a preference for ornamentation and elegance over simplicity: the "dry" and "plain" and "neat" styles, he said, have limited usefulness; the "elegant" style, he affirms, "has all of the virtues of ornament without any of its excesses or defects."[34] In addition to their study of the classical rhetoricians through such interpreters as Blair, nineteenth-century orators had also pored over the orations of Cicero and had developed a respect

[28] *Memoirs*, I, 146.

[29] "Local History Items," *Minnesota History*, XXIV (1943), 384.

[30] See *Atlantic Monthly*, II (August 1858), 374-382; *North American Review*, LXI (October 1845), 518-523, and LXXXIX (October 1859), 558; *Littell's Living Age*, LXX (August 10, 1861), 323-346.

[31] Fred Lewis Pattee, *The First Century of American Literature, 1770-1870* (New York, 1935), p. 180.

[32] *The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, trans. Lane Cooper (New York, 1932), p. 17.

[33] *Quintilian's Institutes of Oratory*, trans. John Selby Watson (London, 1856), I, 218.

[34] *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London, 1812), II, 25.

for that orator's ability "to dilate with a magnificent prodigality of pathetic ornament" upon any common topic.[35] One orator's self-conscious interest in his own rhetoric typifies this admiration:

> Those who for an Oration on a popular occasion, prefer the nervous elocution of Demosthenes to the rounded periods and flowing style of Cicero, will perceive somewhat upon which they will have reason to remark. But for myself, I have ever been more ambitious to imitate the Roman, than the Grecian, Orator: and I am too well satisfied with my predilection, to feel hurt at any censure on this head.[36]

A writer for the *North American Review* attributed American stylistic extravagance to the stylistic tradition of French rhetoric, "the swell and pomp of Parisian declamation," but concluded that "we have seasoned the mixture with enough patriotic truculence to establish our title to the compound."[37]

Once the tradition of the Fourth of July oration had become established, the orations themselves seem to have become determinants of the rhetorical pattern of subsequent orations as well as of the popular taste for a certain kind of eloquence. Of course, not all of these orations were faithful to the same standard; some were "plain," others "florid," and others every shade between. But the speech did have certain distinguishing characteristics as an oratorical-literary piece which were common enough to warrant the assertion that there was a clearly defined breed of speech identifiable as Fourth of July oratory. What were these characteristics?

Many orations began with a complimentary salutation to the audience, often followed by a "salute" to the day, and a personal apology and an appeal to the candor of the audience. Audiences were addressed in such terms as "Associate and Esteemed Friends," "Learned, Polite and Respected Assembly," "My much respected fellow citizens," "Worthy and Respected Fellow Citizens," or simply as "Americans!" Such salutations were common before 1850 and reflect deference to a long-standing practice in secular oratory. The ubiquitous salute to the day had the ring of an invocation, a call to worship, a touch of the spirit of "The Lord is in His Holy Temple: Let all the earth keep silence before Him." Charles Sprague's was exuberant: "Fathers! Friends! It is the SABBATH DAY OF FREEDOM! The race of the ransomed, with grateful hearts and exulting voices, have again come up, in the sunlight of peace, to the Jubilee of their Independence!"[38] "Hail auspicious day! an aera in the American Annals, to be ever remembered with joy."[39] "Hail the auspicious day! Well may it be celebrated as the festival of man, as the jubilee of nations,"[40] cried other speakers. The personal apology, often pathetically abject, seems to have been included out of respect for the tradition of secular oratory, perhaps influenced by Aristotle's advice that the introduction include appeals to the hearers' indulgence.[41] "It is so much a rule of modern declamation to make the exordium consist of personal apology," declared an orator in 1787, "that any departure from it might, I fear, be deemed a violation of that respect which is held to be due from a speaker to his audience."[42] "I am, almost, overpowered with embarrassment," said another. "Never before had I such feelings as this

[35] *North American Review*, LXI (October, 1845), 521.
[36] Joshua Cushman, Augusta (Maine), 1807, p. 3.
[37] *North American Review*, LXI (October, 1845), 521.
[38] Charles Sprague, Boston, 1825, p. 3.
[39] Jonathan L. Austin, Boston, 1786, p. 5.
[40] Samuel Worcester, Hanover (N.H.), 1795, p. 9.
[41] *Rhetoric*, p. 222.
[42] James Campbell, Philadelphia, 1787, p. 9.

moment oppress me! I should have declined a task, far, far, above my abilities to execute!"[43] Other speakers apologized for their lack of experience and for the lack of novelty in their treatment of the subjects of the day. "The mine has yielded all of its glittering ore," observed Charles Francis Adams; "Nothing is left to the pride of authorship—nothing to the vanity of declamation."[44]

The body of the address was marked by a number of distinguishing traits. The prevalence of classical and Biblical allusion in all occasional address of the century has been elsewhere remarked.[45] Fourth of July orators, perhaps because they saw striking parallels between the republics of Greece and Rome and the new America, found classical counterparts for every significant American trait and institution. The strength of the tradition of Fourth of July oratory is evident in the recurrent phrases used by orators to designate events frequently spoken of. Someone coined the happy euphemism that the Revolution was "this great appeal to Heaven," and it continued to appear in later orations. The Declaration was variously called "the most momentous epoch in the history of the world," or "one of those great Æras in the history of mankind." "From New Hampshire to Georgia" grew to "From Maine to Oregon" or "From Maine to California," then suffered few alterations. Biblical phrases were common: "swords into plowshares," "The lines are drawn in pleasant places," "each under his own vine and fig tree." Washington's pose as the American Cincinnatus was seldom missed. That Fourth of July oratory, like early nineteenth-century ceremonial address in general, was further marked by a preference for generic language that seemed to escape contact with reality has been fully developed elsewhere, and this trait has been laid to the overwhelming surge of Romanticism that swept America in the first half of the nineteenth century.[46] The orator's language shunned specific detail in favor of such descriptive ambiguities as "our public buildings are capacious and magnificent," and "all the useful arts are avidly cultivated."

Frequent apostrophe, a self-conscious concern for rhythm, stereotyped imagery, and exaggerated sentimentality also characterized the usual Fourth of July oration. Among national heroes Washington was frequently apostrophized: "Washington, great and good name! . . . Do any wounds afflict thy bosom? Oh! Let the balm of thy country's love heal them."[47] The stilted language of the King James Bible gave a prayer-like quality to these addresses: "Liberty!" cried another speaker, "Blessed emanation of divine perfection! . . . Thou art light to the understanding. . . . Thy spirit inspires the venerable fathers of mankind."[48] Concern for rhythm is evident in orators' frequent recourse to strings of rhetorical questions and other studied attempts at rolling parallelism. Some efforts caught the dignity of their theme; others resulted in tortuously inverted sentences that obscured meaning.

Three images became so common that they took on the aura of national symbols. The first, the "tree of liberty," was an image of growth—growth of the nation and of its ideals. "The tree of liberty," observed one orator, "will shoot

[43] William C. White, Worcester, 1804, p. 3.
[44] Boston, 1843, pp. 5-6.
[45] Lorenzo Sears, *The Occasional Address* (New York, 1898), p. 218; see also my dissertation, from which these generalizations are drawn, Northwestern University, School of Speech, 1955.
[46] Richard M. Weaver, *The Ethics of Rhetoric* (Chicago, 1953), chapter 7; and Howard H. Martin, "'Style' in the Golden Age," *QJS*, XLIII (December 1957), 374-82.
[47] Charles H. Atherton, Amherst (N.H.), 1798, p. 14.
[48] Carl Seeger, Northampton, 1810, p. 4.

its top up to the sun. Its boughs will hang over the ends of the world, and the wearied nations will lie down and rest in its shade."[49] A more popular image—and one more extravagantly evoked by Fourth of July orators—was the eagle, a symbol that had been adopted in 1782 as one of the devices for the seal of the United States. "Columbia," cried an orator, "Thy eagle will soar to the stars and build her eyry where danger cannot climb."[50] "This union," another speaker declared, "like the young eagle, plumed its wings, and soared away into mid-heaven, a spectacle and a wonder to the nations of the world."[51] The image was so frequently called up that later critics spoke of Fourth of July oratory as "soaring the eagle" and labelled its rhetoric "spread-eagle." While the eagle image caught the notion of strength and ascendancy, the most tangible image of nationality was the flag. Although the flag was seldom mentioned in orations before the Mexican War, the two wars in the twenty years after 1845 raised the flag to prominence as a national symbol. The symbolism is clear in such allusions as "there are not wanting in the land spirits reckless enough to tarnish the unsullied stars and stripes with the leprosy of conquest,"[52] or "We each bear the altar of our country in our hands. . . . It is the flag of the Union."[53]

A final characteristic of the anniversary oration was occasional thick sentimentality, evident in such remarks as "Let us draw a veil over the melancholy scene," or "let us drop a tear of gratitude,"[54] "it becomes us this day to bedew with tears of gratitude,"[55] "our tears mingled with the ashes of those fallen in our battles,"[56] or "the tears of a grateful people will now fall like the refreshing raindrop on his lonely bed."[57]

3.

This brief discussion of the importance in national ceremonial and national literature of the Fourth of July oration has demanded broad generalization about orators' practices in the hundred years between 1777 and 1876. I do not wish to leave the impression that all speakers slavishly developed identical themes or were carried off by excesses of language and imagery. Many of these speeches were serious, intellectual pieces worthy of study today for their matter and method. I have considered the anniversary speech as a type, and as a type it cannot be denied that Fourth of July oratory was often a heavy panegyric indulged in for display by a mediocre talent. Yet, the fact that audiences continued to demand such oratory, is testimony to the significant representations these orations gave of popular ideals both in politics and rhetoric. The Fourth of July oration was, after all, a *popular* speech in the best sense of the word. Audiences took in whole communities, especially on the frontier, where the national anniversary was one of those infrequent chances for social intercourse. And out of these ceremonial gatherings emerged an image of America and its uniqueness that seems to have been a unifying element in American group life. Circulation of orations in printed form no doubt further helped to homogenize popular national values, and to perpetuate and reinforce a peculiar rhetorical tradition and standard of popular eloquence.

[49] Jonathan Maxcy, Providence, 1795, p. 3.
[50] Daniel W. Lincoln, Boston, 1810, p. 16.
[51] Joseph R. Williams, New Bedford, 1835, p. 10.
[52] J. G. McClellan, Marshall Court House (Va.), 1850, p. 17.
[53] Charles A. Sumner, Virginia and Gold Hill (Nev.), 1865, p. 35.
[54] Enos Hitchcock, Providence, 1788, pp. 7-8.
[55] Samuel Stillman, Boston, 1789, p. 10.
[56] Joel Barlow, Washington, 1810, p. 3.
[57] Joseph R. Williams, New Bedford, 1835, p. 9.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SPEECH

Gordon E. Peterson

THE complexity of human speech is well illustrated by the numerous forms into which speech has been analyzed and classified. For example, at the mechanical level speech involves neurological, muscular, acoustical, and auditory processes. In current linguistic terminology the symbolic subdivisions of speech include phonemics, morphemics, and syntax. At the level of arts and skills we may subdivide speech behavior into such areas as discussion, public address, oral interpretation, and acting.

In this paper the primary concern is with the physiology and acoustics of speech production. Some of the details of speech production seem particularly elusive. However, the general aspects of the process have been frequently described, and the major divisions involved in the production of speech and voice are almost common knowledge. The process is frequently organized into four major divisions: respiration, phonation, nasalization, and articulation.

Respiration. Normally, speech is produced on exhalation. Some languages, in addition, employ sounds known as clicks, which are produced on ingressive air; but in general, vocal communication is accompanied by egressive air. There has long been an interest in the processes of respiration during voice production. Various forms of respiration have been promoted as fundamental to good speech and singing, and some research has suggested that the individual syllables of speech are based upon sequential impulses of thoracic pressure produced by sequential contractions of the respiratory musculature.[1]

Since the trachea through which breath is supplied to the larynx is essentially an open, passive tube, it is difficult to see how the particular method of contracting the thoracic and abdominal musculature to drive the breath stream could have a direct effect upon the sound of the voice. Indirect effects upon speech due to the distribution of muscle tensions in the extrinsic laryngeal, pharyngeal, and lingual muscles, however, are certainly possible; and the relation of respiration to vocal production continues to be an area of research interest. Recent developments in electro-acoustical apparatus and in X-ray techniques have greatly increased the possibility of developing a more precise knowledge of respiration in speech.

There are several possible approaches to an examination of the thesis that the syllable is a physiological unit based on respiratory impulses.[2] Cases of respiratory paralysis offer one promising method of testing the hypothesis. Occasionally, such cases involve a very severe paralysis of the respiratory musculature, but retain relatively normal control of

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[1] R. H. Stetson, *Motor Phonetics* (Amsterdam, 1951).

[2] W. F. Tweaddell, "Stetson's Model and the 'Supra-Segmental Phonemes'," *Language*, XXIX, No. 4 (October-December 1953), 415-453.

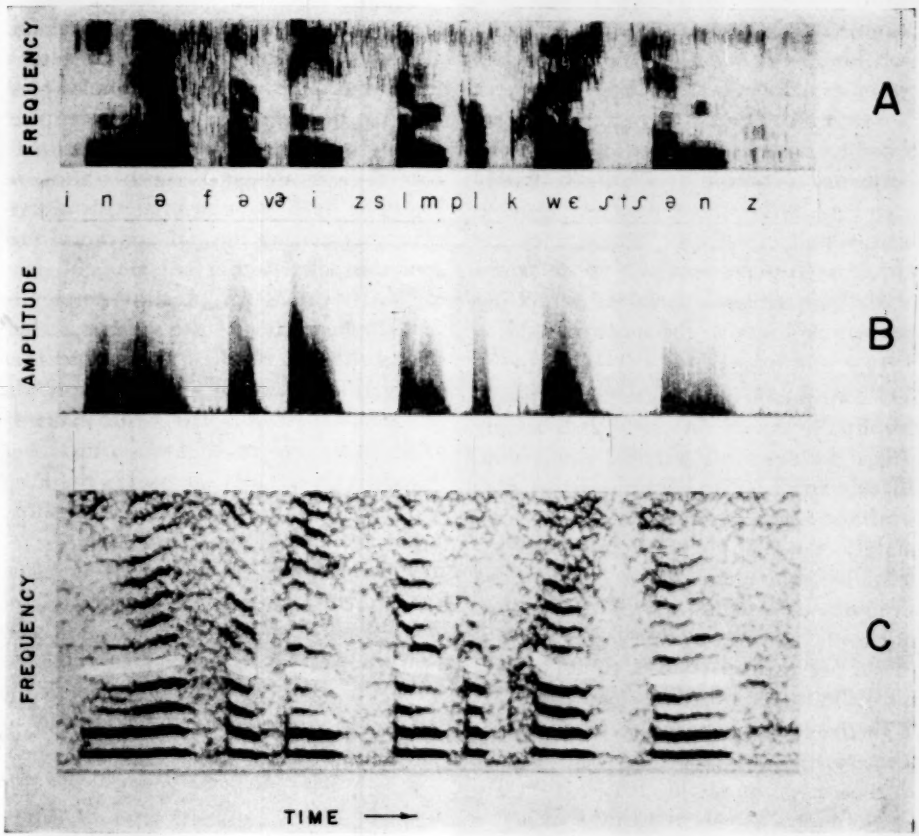

FIGURE 1

Sound spectrograms of the phrase, ". . . enough of these simple questions." The speaker is a young woman with dermatomyositis whose breathing was controlled by a tank respirator.

A. Wide filter sound spectrogram extending from 0 to 3500 cycles.

B. Continuous amplitude display with a linear scale.

C. Narrow filter sound spectrogram from 0 to approximately 3500 cycles showing individual voice harmonics.

the laryngeal and supra-laryngeal systems. One indication of the severity of the paralysis is the extent to which the subject is confined to an artificial respirator. The subject with essentially complete paralysis of the abdominal and thoracic skeletal muscles can only speak, of course, during the exhaust cycle of the respirator; and a corresponding control of the speech rhythm is thus imposed. An observation of subjects of this type will show that within the restricted speech rhythm, they are usually able to produce inflectional speech with what appear to be relatively normal phonetic syllable patterns. It is also of special interest that these subjects are characteristically unable to produce strongly stressed speech or loud voice without the aid of some special technique to increase the breath pressures during phonation.

Figure 1 shows three different types of spectrographic analyses of an utterance

produced by a young woman with dermatomyositis. Time is shown along the horizontal scale for each of these spectrograms and extends to approximately two seconds. The upper pattern (A) is a broad-band sound spectrogram with frequency extending to approximately 3500 cps. Since there was considerable background noise, the consonants are rather poorly represented; (little automatic gain control could be employed in the analysis with the spectrograph).

The middle pattern (B) of Figure 1 is a continuous amplitude display, with amplitude shown on an approximately linear scale in the vertical dimension. In this analysis the entire system had a constant frequency response to approximately 6000 cps. The picture is essentially equivalent to the display on a cathode-ray oscilloscope with a slow horizontal sweep and the lower portion of the wave inverted and superimposed onto the upper portion.

In the lower pattern (C) of Figure 1, a narrow filter analysis of the utterance is shown. This picture extends to approximately 3500 cps, but the linear frequency scale is expanded by a factor of two over the broad-band pattern. In this analysis the individual harmonics appear, and each reflects the variations in the fundamental voice frequency. In the figure the fifth harmonic is traced; thus, if the customary frequency scale is divided by a factor of five, by means of a template the values of the fundamental voice frequency may be read directly from the spectrogram.

The subject employed in constructing Figure 1 had approximately normal control of the laryngeal and articulatory musculature. The respiratory musculature and other muscles of the body were quite generally paralyzed, however, and extensive atrophy was present. The subject could not move the extremities, hold her head erect, or breathe alone. The figure shows a single phrase, produced during the exhalatory phase of a tank respirator. The phonetic symbols (IPA) identify the segments of the utterance: "enough of these simple questions." Direct listening and spectrograms of Figure 1 both indicate that this speech closely resembles normal conversational speech in all aspects.

Phonation. Much of the complexity and the flexibility of the speech producing mechanism results from the fact that the pathways of respiration and digestion are crossed. No basic difficulty arises from air in the food tract, but strong valves are necessary to keep foreign substances out of the respiratory pathway.

This crossing of the tracts is often considered one of the curiosities of physiology. It should be noted, however, that the very formations which make the nose well suited to processing the air for the lungs also make it susceptible to occlusion. Thus the variable oral opening serves as an emergency inlet for the very basic life function of respiration. On the ventral side of the food tract the vocal folds serve as a highly sensitive valve to protect the trachea and the lungs.

The function of the vocal folds, like many other aspects of the speech process, has been a source of much controversy and uncertainty. For example, some have suggested that the individual oscillations of the vocal cords are developed by sequential neural innervations.[3] Various observations, however, as with high speed laryngeal photographs, make this hypothesis highly questionable;[4] and it

[3] R. Husson, *Etude des Phénomènes Physiologiques et Acoustiques Fondamentaux de la Voix Chantée* (Thèse, Paris, 1950).

[4] J. W. Van den Berg, "Sur les Théories Myo-Élastique et Neuro-Chronaxique de la Phonation. *Revue de Laryngologie,* Bordeaux, 5-6 (May-June, 1951), pp. 494-512.

is more commonly believed that phonation is produced by the balance of relatively sustained muscular tension of the vocal lips against sublaryngeal breath pressures. According to the theory which is generally accepted, an oscillation of the vocal lips occurs within a certain range of tension and pressure, and the frequency of the oscillation is controlled by the tension and air pressure relationship.[5] The sequences of air pulses which escape between the vocal cords in turn excite the vocal cavities which lie above. These cavities may also be excited by frictional laryngeal sound, as in whispering.

The vocal cords are primarily responsible for individual voice qualities, not for vowel qualities. The fact that whispered vowels are relatively intelligible is one important indication that the form of vibration of the vocal cords does not control vowel qualities. During whispering the vocal folds are partially approximated to generate friction, but they normally do not oscillate. In Figure 2 are shown sound spectrograms of such vowels. In this figure are two types of visible speech pictures. In the upper patterns (as in A of Figure 1) time is displayed along the horizontal axis and frequency along the vertical axis; intensity at the various frequencies is approximately represented by the blackness in the pictures. The lower patterns are known as amplitude sections; they show frequency to approximately 3500 cps, with increasing frequency from the center of the figure downward; amplitude is displayed on a logarithmic scale (in decibels) along the horizontal dimension of these sections.

In Figure 2 the first portion of each vowel is produced by normal phonation.

[5] J. W. Van den Berg, J. T. Zantema, and P. Doornenbal, Jr., "On the Air Resistance and the Bernoulli Effect of the Human Larynx," *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, XXIX, No. 5 (May 1957), 626-631.

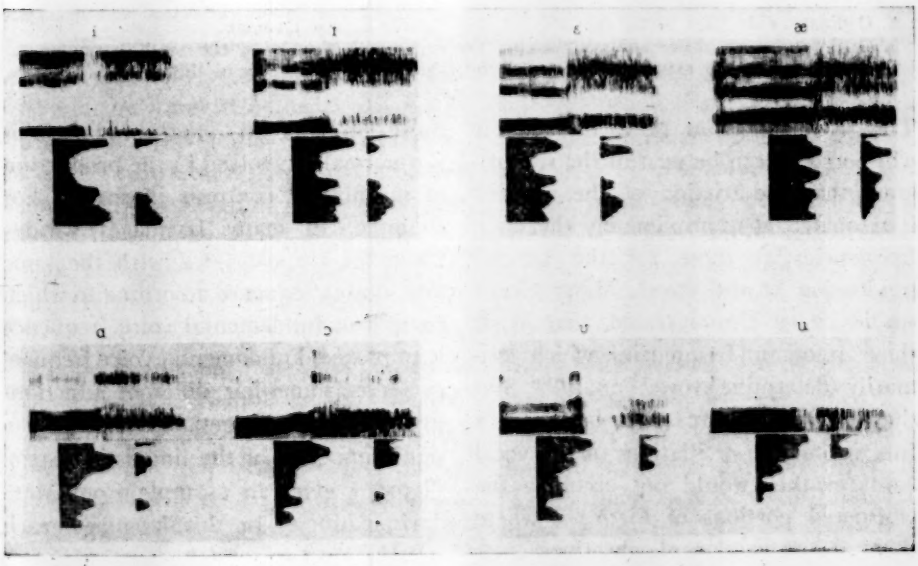

FIGURE 2

Wide filter sound spectrograms and amplitude sections of a selected group of vowels. The first portion of each vowel is phonated and the latter portion is whispered. The regular sound spectrogram is shown in the upper display for each vowel. The amplitude sections are shown below; in the amplitude sections frequency extends from 0 to 3500 cycles downward and amplitude in decibels extends horizontally.

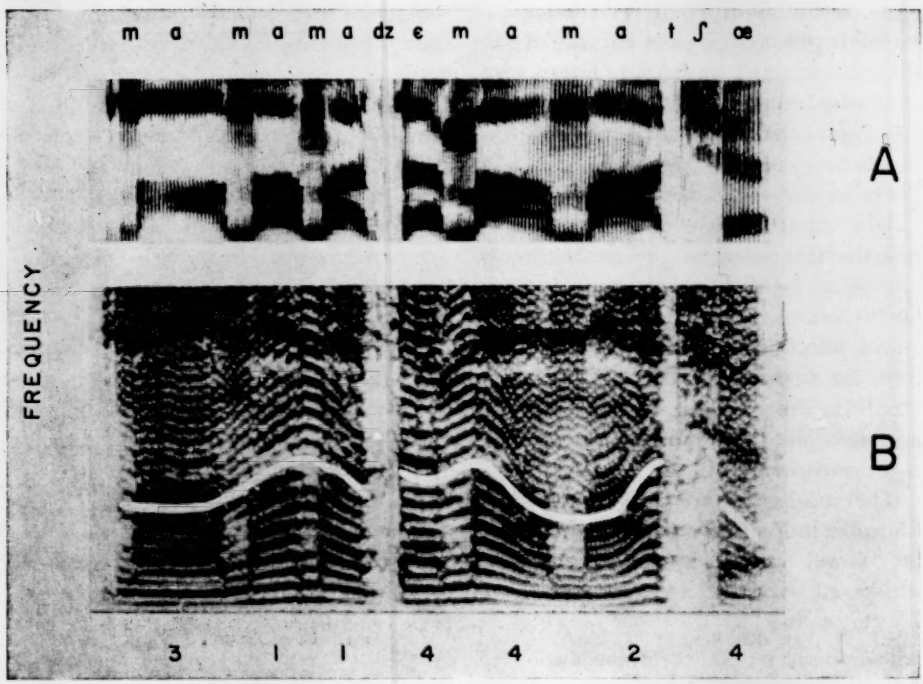

FIGURE 3

Sound spectrograms of a sentence spoken by a speaker of Mandarin Chinese. A phonetic transcription of the utterance is shown along the top and the tones are numbered according to the way they would be produced in isolation along the bottom of the figure.

A. Ordinary wide filter sound spectrogram showing the speech formants.

B. Ordinary narrow filter analysis showing the individual harmonics; the tenth harmonic is traced to show an expanded pattern of the fundamental frequency of the voice.

The second portion of each vowel is whispered. It can be seen in the spectrogram that the friction of the whisper is resonated at approximately the same frequencies as those for the normal production of the vowel. Many recent studies have demonstrated that it is these resonant frequencies which primarily determine vowel quality,[6] and they obviously are not basically a function of the oscillations of the vocal cords or they would not occur in the whispered portions of Figure 2 where there are no vocal cord vibrations.

From these observations, however, we must not conclude that the larynx is not normally involved in the production of meaningful contrasts in speech. For example, in many languages various meanings are associated with the same articulatory sequence according to which pattern of fundamental voice frequency is employed. Fundamental voice frequency serves somewhat different functions in different languages, but is usually a significant part of the linguistic system. Figure 3 gives an example from Mandarin Chinese. In this language, each syllable has one of four tonal patterns (tonemes). When the syllables are produced sequentially in speech, intereffects result so that the tonal patterns on the syllables are modified

[6] G. E. Peterson and H. L. Barney, "Control Methods Used in a Study of the Vowels," *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, XXIV, No. 2 (March 1952), 175-184.

by their environment (tone sandhi). Further, superimposed upon these modified tonal patterns is the sentence melody (intonation). While the tonemes and intonation are essential to the meaning of the message, as are the articulatory sequences, tone sandhi is largely predictable. The above three aspects of tone result in a very complex function of fundamental voice frequency in Mandarin.

The sentence in Figure 3 was spoken with a matter-of-fact or neutral intonation. The syllable [mɑ] occurs with each of the four tonemes, each time with an entirely different meaning. Articulatory intereffects can easily be observed in the upper spectrogram of Figure 3. In this spectrogram the syllable [mɑ] occurs five times. In the vowel [ɑ] the first two formants normally lie relatively high and close together. In the first two syllables it can be seen that the [ɑ] vowels are very similar in their patterns but differ appreciably in duration. Where the syllable is followed by a different consonant, the influence of the consonant has a clear effect on the formant pattern of the vowel. The tonal changes are shown in the lower spectrogram of Figure 3 which represents a narrow-band analysis. In isolation the tones are normally numbered: (1) high level, (2) high rising, (3) low dipping, and (4) high falling. The tones are numbered accordingly in the figure, and the extent of tone sandhi and intonation, especially on the last syllable, can be observed by noting the actual shapes of the tonal patterns in the sentence. The two spectrograms are aligned so that the IPA transcription applies to both patterns.

In some languages other aspects of laryngeal function produce meaningful differences, and minimal pairs can be found which involve the same articulatory and tonal patterns but which involve a distinction in vocal quality. For example, in Dinka of the Sudan a breathy type of vocal cord vibration is contrastive, and in Isthmus Zapotec of Mexico a harsh or irregular type of phonation (as an actualization of phonemic inter-vocallic glottal stop) is a distinctive laryngeal quality.

Nasalization. The soft palate serves as a valve to separate the nose from the oral-pharynx. In the normal case, this strong valve can be firmly closed to withstand the pressures developed in swallowing. Often, during speech, there is some linkage of the air in the oral and nasal passageways. However, most languages involve relatively few speech sounds in which nasal resonance is an essential feature. Thus, in general, during speech the soft palate is closed or nearly so, and the air stream is directed through the mouth for the production of sound.

It might be assumed that when the soft palate is closed no sound occurs in the nasal passageways, and that under this condition the nose is not involved in speech production. The use of a probe tube microphone, however, makes it possible to observe sound pressure levels in the nasal passageways during the various oral speech-sound formations. It is perhaps somewhat surprising to find with this technique that the level of sound during distinctly oral vowels is only a few decibels below the sound level at the lips.

Actually, this observation should be expected, since the nares are open and there is no reason why the orally produced sound should be excluded from these openings. In normal conversational speech, the sound pressure levels within the vocal cavities are actually quite high. Thus, wherever there are air paths, rather strong sound levels are to be ex-

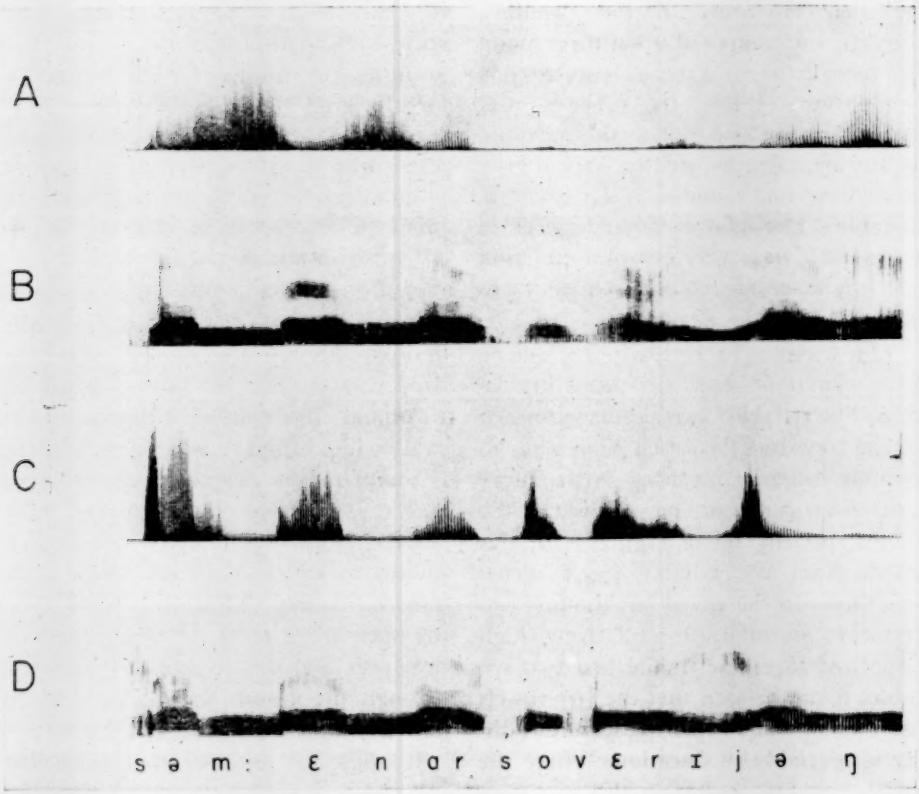

FIGURE 4

Sound spectrograms of the output of probe tube microphones during a single utterance of the sentence, "Some men are so very young."
A. Continuous amplitude display with a probe tube placed in the nose.
B. Wide filter sound spectrogram of the output of the probe placed in the nose.
C. Continuous amplitude display with a probe tube placed approximately one inch in front of the lips.
D. Wide filter sound spectrogram of the output of the probe placed in front of the lips.

pected in the region of the head; for example, in the ear canals or in the trachea.

Some further explanation seems required, however, when we observe that the sound pressure level beside the nose is normally somewhat less than that within the nose. This observation suggests that the sound level within the nose is at least in part the result of vibrations of the associated structures during voice production, which set up an appreciable sound level within the nasal cavities.

Figure 4 was constructed from the output of probe tube microphones. In the top pattern is shown the output of a nasal probe. This pattern for the nasal output is similar to the continuous amplitude display of B in Figure 1. In B of Figure 4 is shown an ordinary wide filter spectrographic analysis of the output of the nasal probe. C of Figure 4 shows a continuous amplitude display for a simultaneous recording of the sentence with a similar probe tube microphone held approximately one inch in front of the lips. The pattern in

D is a regular wide filter analysis of the output of this oral probe.

The overall gain of the system for A of Figure 4 was decreased so that the nasal sounds would not overload the system. Thus, the amplitudes in A and C are not directly comparable. The continuous amplitude displays were made with essentially flat electrical systems. The wide filter analyses, however, were constructed with high frequency equalization in the sound spectrograph (high shaping). The very poor representation above approximately 1,000 cycles in B and D indicates the poor high frequency response of the probes. These spectrograms emphasize some of the difficulties in the use of microphone probes; data from simple uncorrected probes must be interpreted with considerable caution. In A, considerable nasalization in the region of the nasal consonants is evident, whereas the amplitude from the probe was considerably reduced in the region where no nasal consonants appear. It is of interest that in the frequency region displayed, the spectrograms from the nasal and the oral probes are very similar.

Articulation. The lips, teeth, and tongue, which serve essential functions in deglutition, make it possible to create a great variety of different sounds. These articulators may be shaped to control the cavity formations and thus the resonant frequencies of vowel-like sounds, and they may be vibrated or partially or completely approximated to form consonants.

In continuous speech, the vowels and consonants join together in a rather continuous sequence of intereffects. The acoustical result of this sequence of articulations is indicated in the upper spectrogram of Figure 5. This pattern is for a normal utterance of the phrase, "Mary Lou measures her father's nice long eyelashes," which was constructed to have a fairly broad sample of continuants, but no plosives. As before, the vertical scale extends to approximately 3500 cycles and the horizontal scale shows time linearly; in this figure the duration is approximately four seconds.

There has long been controversy, not yet entirely settled, as to the primary source of the intelligibility of speech. Some have suggested that the vowels are of relatively little importance, and that

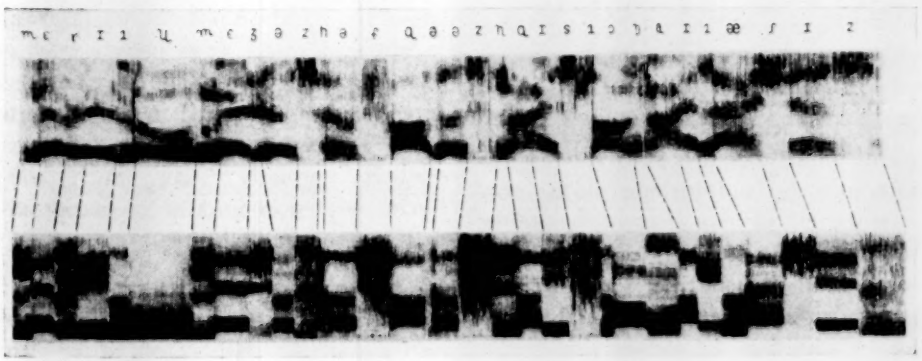

FIGURE 5

Wide filter sound spectrograms of the sentence, "Mary Lou measures her father's nice long eyelashes."
Upper pattern: Continuous speech.
Lower pattern: Synthesized speech from sustained segments.

the consonants make the primary contribution to intelligibility. This speculation, however, seems somewhat contrary to the fact that experimentalists in general have devoted much more effort to the study of the vowels than to the study of the consonants.

It is obvious in the upper spectrogram in Figure 5 that there is a relatively continuous movement in the acoustical pattern, which of course, reflects the movements of the articulators during speech production. It has long been recognized, however, that such an utterance can be rather well represented by a sequence of discrete phonetic symbols. Thus, some information about the source of the intelligibility of the speech signal should be provided from a study of utterances composed of discrete elements.

For the purpose of illustration, the changing pattern in the upper spectrogram of Figure 5 was arbitrarily sectioned into a sequence of vowels and consonants. The phonetic symbols placed above the spectrogram show the approximate locations of the various sounds. Sustained vowels and consonants were then produced for each of the phonetic elements of the sequence. The vocal pitch of each of these elements was chosen according to the pitch level of the sound in the normal utterance.

The lower spectrogram of Figure 5 shows the sequence of individual elements joined together. Since the original utterance did not include plosive consonants, all of the elements could be produced in a sustained or continuant form. The dashed lines show the correspondence between the arbitrarily located divisions of the original utterance and the isolated segments which were connected for synthesizing the speech pattern. It will be noted that the lengths of the segments are in general approximately correct, but that some of the segments in the synthesized utterance are somewhat longer than the corresponding segments in the original utterance; thus the total synthesized utterance has a slightly greater duration.

It is, perhaps, one of the chief curiosities of speech that utterances synthesized from such discrete segments are relatively unintelligible. Several such sentences have been synthesized in the above indicated manner, and it has been found that sentences of reasonable complexity and of unfamiliar material are usually unintelligible and always sound strange. Two major factors are doubtless involved in degrading the intelligibility: a) transients due to the rather abrupt changes in spectrum from one sustained speech sound to the next produce interfering noise; b) transitional patterns which are present in the normal production of speech are absent, so that the normal time pattern of articulatory movement is lost.

Another type of observation about speech intelligibility is illustrated in Figure 6. The original utterance for this figure was "These words have been changed." In the upper spectrogram of Figure 6 the vowel parts, including the resonance transitions between consonant and vowel, have been removed. The remaining consonant parts of the speech were connected together with blank spaces left where the vowel resonances normally occur. Such consonant sequences usually have approximately zero intelligibility.

The vowel parts which remained from the previous sectioning were then connected together with empty spaces left where the consonants occurred in the original utterance. This condition is shown in the second spectrogram of Figure 6. Not only are the vowel posi-

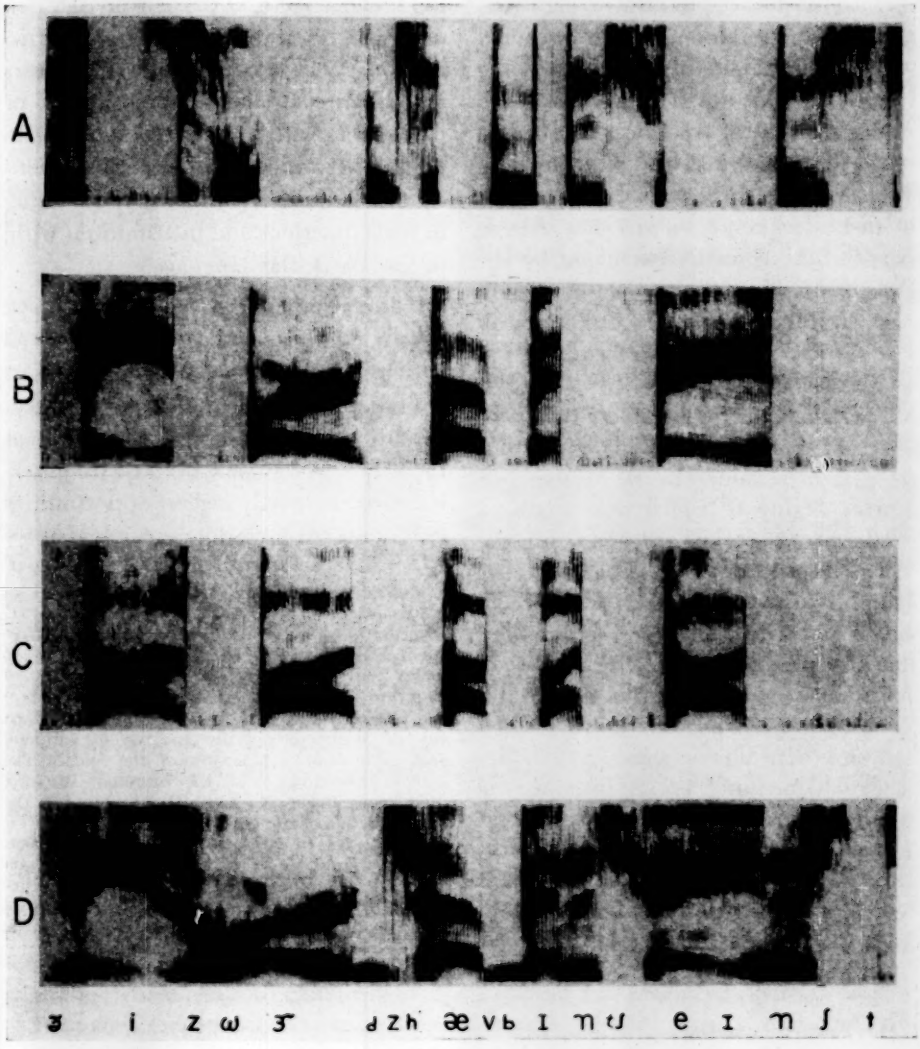

FIGURE 6

Wide filter sound spectrogram of the sentence, "These words have been changed."
A. Vowels removed.
B. Consonants removed.
C. Neutral vowel throughout with consonants removed.
D. Normal utterance.

tions retained, but also the movements of the resonances from the consonants to the vowels and from the vowels to the consonants are present; thus only the actual frictional and resonance parts of the consonants themselves have been eliminated.

No quantitative measures of the intelligibility of such sequences of sounds have been made, but the vowel sequences appear to have somewhat greater intelligibility than the consonant sequences. Most listeners, however, are unable to determine the context of the sentence employed for Figure 6 in either of the above cases.

It is also possible to discard the vowel values and to retain only the transitional parts or the consonant influences on the vowel. In the third spectrogram of Figure 6 a central vowel was substituted as the only vowel in the sentence, and the consonant parts were then removed. In such a sequence we are thus able to examine the contribution made by the consonant influences on the vowel with other factors excluded. Most sentences of this type, of course, are entirely unintelligible.

The nature of the complete utterance when all vowel and consonant portions are present is shown in the bottom pattern of Figure 6, which was produced by the same speaker employed for the other recordings represented in the figure. This spectrogram shows the consonant energies, the vowel resonances, and also the transitional effects or resonance changes between the vowels and consonants. Perhaps, after all, it is not a curiosity that all of these factors appear to contribute importantly to the intelligibility of the sentence, and that it is necessary for all to be present before such utterances achieve a high degree of intelligibility and naturalness. In fact, when we consider languages in the broader sense, with their myriad patterns of respiration, phonation, articulation, and nasalization, it appears very likely that many different factors or parameters will be involved in their intelligibility, and that the contributions of the parameters will vary according to their functions and distributions within any particular language.

The various effects which have been illustrated above indicate that speech is perhaps somewhat more complex in its basic nature than is sometimes assumed. In this sense, it is hoped that some of the effects which have been qualitatively indicated here may suggest opportunities for future investigation and research.[7]

[7] The author would like to express his appreciation to Dr. David G. Dickinson, M.D., Director of the Respiratory Center of the University of Michigan, for the opportunity to make the informal observations on cases of respiratory paralysis; to Mr. William Wang of the Speech Research Laboratory of the University of Michigan for the analysis of Chinese; and to Miss May Morrison of the Speech Research Laboratory and the Summer Institute of Linguistics at Norman, Oklahoma, for the references to laryngeal qualities. Support is gratefully acknowledged to the Michigan Alumni Fund of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan for the special recording equipment employed in constructing several of the figures presented in this paper.

* * *

J. M. BARRIE AND THE JOURNALIST AT HIS ELBOW

Lenyth and O. G. Brockett

1.

"Barrie is a beauty," wrote Robert Louis Stevenson to Henry James in 1892. "Genius in him, but there's a journalist at his elbow—there's the risk."[1] The specific risk which Stevenson regarded as a threat to the future of his young fellow-Scot was Barrie's readiness to sacrifice realism for the sake of humor, a tendency which Stevenson evidently attributed to Barrie's apprenticeship in journalism. Stevenson did not live long enough to follow Barrie's successful shift from novel-writing to playwriting as his principal career, and he based his comment on only a few of Barrie's early books. Readers who, unlike Stevenson, have the whole of Barrie's work available to them, probably will disagree with the specific grounds of Stevenson's criticism, maintaining rather that Barrie was temperamentally unsympathetic to realism, but was gifted with a unique sense of humor which he wisely chose to exploit.

Yet today, more than sixty years later, Barrie's reputation probably corresponds rather closely to Stevenson's early and casual estimate. Modern readers and theatre-goers tend to find Barrie's plays unsatisfactory; certain characters, certain comic passages, are still brilliant and amusing, but the sentiment which Barrie dispensed so freely now seems strained and excessive, and even his best plays are likely to appear obvious, contrived, and thin. The very fact that he produced during his lifetime such a large quantity of work has perhaps contributed to the widespread impression of Barrie as a "journalistic" writer in the pejorative sense.

No doubt Barrie's later work was to some degree influenced by his early career in journalism. After a year's work as literary jack-of-all-trades for the *Nottingham Journal*, a job he began at the age of twenty-two, Barrie supported himself in London for several years as a free-lance writer of humorous articles for various popular periodicals. His survival depended on his capacity to produce an immense quantity in very little time, and his output during these years was indeed prolific: in Nottingham he wrote a daily average of 1200 words for the newspaper, as well as many extra pieces of fiction and criticism, while in London he produced articles at the average rate of two a day and still found time to experiment with fiction and drama.[2] About 1892 (having already six published books and one successfully-produced play to his credit) he gradually withdrew from free-lance journalism. Even so, he remained a prolific writer throughout his active career, turning out in one sixteen-year span (1905-1921) nearly thirty plays.

During his years in journalism Barrie

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[1] *The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson*, ed. Sidney Colvin (New York, 1923), IV, 157.

[2] Denis Mackail, *Barrie: The Story of J. M. B.* (New York, 1941), pp. 83, 102-115. Cynthia Asquith, *Portrait of Barrie* (London, 1954), p. 25.

became adept at gauging the popular level of taste, an ability to which his personal attitudes contributed. His humorous vein was charming and individual, but his intellectual interests were limited, his ideas unoriginal, and his outlook essentially conformist, so that his work quite naturally reflected the bourgeois values of his own day. Late Victorian and Edwardian audiences were especially captivated by his sentimentality, an ingredient nearly always found in arts designed to appeal to the mass audience and one which undoubtedly accounted for Barrie's almost instantaneous success in the theatre, although it also contributed to the decline in his reputation even during his own lifetime.

All of these factors—Barrie's journalistic training and his prolific output, his skill in appealing to a wide popular audience, his consistent purveying of a brand of sentiment which has since passed out of fashion—all these have helped to fix Barrie's reputation as a facile and superficial dramatist, and consequently to suggest that he was also a hasty and careless writer. The facts are quite otherwise, however, for all of the available material from Barrie's notebooks and letters and other sources lends support to the assertion of his official biographer, Denis Mackail, that no writer has ever worked harder than Barrie.[3] Although his career as a playwright was unquestionably influenced at many points by the "journalist at his elbow," Barrie was in his maturity a painstaking and dedicated craftsman.

Much of the evidence concerning Barrie's working method comes from the notebooks which he kept throughout most of his life, where he recorded ideas for stories and plays and other material of possible usefulness in his writing.[4] The entries included details of observation, scraps of conversation, fragments of memories and dreams, brief descriptions of people and places. Often he recorded succinct summaries of plot or theme in a single sentence, usually prefaced by a number and the word "Play" or "Novel."[5] Sometimes the notes led up blind alleys, and innumerable ideas which aroused his enthusiasm were later abandoned. Always preponderantly practical in character (in the sense that the entries dealt almost exclusively with literary possibilities), the notetaking had begun by the time Barrie was twenty-four and developed into the fixed habit of his maturity.

2.

For an understanding of Barrie's method of working and an appreciation of his diligence and skill, it is helpful to consider briefly the way in which some of his plays originated. The sources from which Barrie drew inspiration were much the same as those which have stimulated other writers: autobiography and personal observation, anecdotes and stories told by others, and various literary sources. If Barrie differed from other writers with respect to the origins of his work, it was perhaps in his ability to see dramatic possibilities in a wide range of materials and his willingness to persevere until the raw material of life had been transformed into drama.

Like many other writers, Barrie made

[3] Mackail, p. 76.

[4] At Barrie's death these notebooks became the property of his literary executors, who put them into the hands of his official biographer. Mackail prints extensive quotations and paraphrases of the material in the notebooks, which have not been published.

[5] Barrie believed that there were decided differences between the requirements of the novel and the drama. See his letter to Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, January 3, 1905. *Letters of J. M. Barrie*, ed. Viola Meynell (New York, 1947), p. 18.

extensive use of autobiographical material, most of which he successfully assimilated to his artistic purpose and consequently presented in innumerable disguises. Already familiar to readers of Barrie is his frequent use of the customs and settings of his native Kirriemur, Scotland, which served as the model for the fictional "Thrums" of early articles and books. The Scottish material appears either centrally or incidentally in a few plays: *The Professor's Love Story* (1894), *The Wedding Guest* (1900), *The Little Minister* (1897), and *What Every Woman Knows* (1908); generally speaking, however, it is of less significance in Barrie's achievements as a playwright than as a novelist and essayist.

A less familiar aspect of autobiography, and one which is more pervasive in Barrie's dramatic work, was his relationship to his mother, Margaret Ogilvy, who has been described as "the simple, pious, self-centred woman whom [Barrie] placed so doggedly on a pedestal."[6] Many of her personal characteristics went into various fictional mother-figures, most obviously into the character of Jess in *A Window in Thrums*, an early book which is interesting for what it conveys of the mixture of tender adoration and dreadful guilt with which Barrie regarded his mother. (In it, the youthful hero, who has been seduced by the attractions of city life, returns penitently to his humble Scottish home only to find that he has come home too late: the window is empty, his beloved mother dead.) Even after devoting an entire book to her (*Margaret Ogilvy*, 1896) Barrie did not succeed in exorcising her memory or influence, and his exaggerated devotion to her almost certainly accounts for the extreme reverence for motherhood in general which reappears in nearly everything he wrote. Although it is most blatant in some of the novels, this attitude is reflected as well in many dramatic characters—in the maternal wife of *What Every Woman Knows*, the fairy godmother of *A Kiss for Cinderella*, the chastened mother of *Alice Sit-By-the-Fire*, the "Beautiful Mothers" of *Peter Pan*, the pathetic old foster-mother of *The Old Lady Shows Her Medals*, and the devoted ghost-mother of *Mary Rose*. *Peter Pan* has been called, among other things, a "fantasy of motherhood," and several other works by Barrie are equally deserving of the description. The significant fact, as far as Barrie's method is concerned, is not that Barrie was haunted by his mother's memory, but that he successfully transmuted his personal feeling into forms as various as these.

Another aspect of Barrie's personal life which stimulated at least one play has been called his "tragic envy of his own past,"[7] an attitude which almost certainly suggested to Barrie the theme of *Dear Brutus*. Barrie's letters and journals reveal that as he grew older, richer, and more celebrated, he tended increasingly to romanticize his youth and to look back enviously upon the struggles and small triumphs of his early days. Recurrent in the material written after Barrie's fortieth birthday are regretful allusions to the fact that life offers no one a "second chance," an expression which appears as the title of a scenario, written in 1905, which was actually the first rough outline of *Dear Brutus*. A brief notation of January 1907, "The Lovely Moment. Finest Dream in the World," recounts how Barrie dreamed that he was once more a young man starting out on the "highland road" at daybreak—"it is the morn-

[6] Mackail, p. 70.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 358.

ing of life—of the world"[8]—which suggests that the yearning to make a fresh start in life had taken a strong hold of his subconscious as well as his conscious imagination. Other sources obviously contributed to *Dear Brutus*—the enchanted wood probably owes something to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the characters are related to if not actually derived from earlier characters he had created—but the main source of inspiration seems clearly to have been Barrie's poignant sense of the irrevocability of past choices.

Two other examples are especially interesting in that they indicate how thoroughly Barrie's imagination transformed the material with which he began. According to Mackail, the first notes for a projected play tentatively titled *The Tin Wedding*, written about the time of Barrie's tenth wedding anniversary, clearly reflect his personal disillusionment and bitterness. But as he continued to develop his ideas, he became less the autobiographer and more the playwright, until by the time he stopped work on the scenario, Mackail writes, "It would be difficult to accuse him of thinking of his own home."[9] In most plays Barrie succeeded in thus disguising the personal origins of his work, sometimes by combining his first inspiration with ideas drawn from other sources. *The Twelve Pound Look*, for example, written shortly after Barrie had been offered a knighthood and only a few months after his divorce, probably was stimulated by these events of his personal life, but one can also see in it, notably in the resemblance of Harry Sims to Sir Willoughby Patterne of *The Egoist*, the influence of Barrie's revered friend Meredith.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 395.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

Many additional examples of Barrie's use of autobiography might be cited; a few will be mentioned briefly. Barrie's first successful full-length play, the farce *Walker, London* (1892), was suggested by some of his experiences playing host on a houseboat moored in the Thames during the summers of 1886 and 1887. The political material for *What Every Woman Knows* was based on Barrie's firsthand observation of the campaign of his friend A. E. W. Mason, who was elected M.P. for Coventry in 1906. *A Kiss for Cinderella* bears traces both in its characters and its settings of Barrie's observations at Wrest Hospital in Bedfordshire, a charity which he helped support during the first World War. An attempted play which was later abandoned, *The Fight for Mr. Lapraik*, was suggested to Barrie by a recurrent dream which troubled him late in life in which another personality threatened to usurp his identity. *The Boy David*, completed when Barrie was seventy-five, contained numerous details inspired by incidents which had taken place years before, including a line of dialogue attributed to the four-year-old Princess Margaret ("He is my greatest friend, and I am *his* greatest friend") and the whistle used by David and Jonathan, a signal which Barrie and a friend had used in boyhood.

In addition to the plays which were suggested by events of his personal life or by his observations, there are others in which Barrie drew inspiration from stories or anecdotes he had either read or heard. An incident in which Barrie saw comic possibilities was one told him about the family of Rosalind, Countess of Carlisle, a lady thought to have "advanced radical principles," which he preserved in a note made in 1899:

91. *Play. Scene*—Servants entertained in drawing-room by mistress and master à la Carlisle family.[10]

Later Barrie returned to this note and developed from it the plot of *The Admirable Crichton*, retaining the original situation for the opening scene of his play. Here the source of inspiration provided Barrie only with a germinal situation which required much imaginative expansion.

A more complex story which stimulated Barrie was the Highland legend concerning a young woman (in some versions, a young man) who was carried off by supernatural spirits and years later was returned to her home, unaware of her misadventure. Although the story was a fairly common one which Barrie might have encountered in any of several sources, he apparently first became interested in its dramatic possibilities when he read a collection of poems by James Hogg sometime during 1905. The journal of that year contains the following notation: "Hogg's Queen's Wake—a sort of Rip Van Winkle."[11] The poem Barrie referred to was "Kilmeny," the thirteenth "Bard's Song" of the collection titled *The Queen's Wake*, which read in part:

> For Kilmeny had been she knew not where,
> And Kilmeny had seen what she could not declare.[12]

Subsequently Barrie incorporated this material into the plot of *Mary Rose*, which he referred to in later entries as "the Kilmeny play," an indication that he recognized his indebtedness to the Highland legend. Although there are other examples in which literary sources played an important part in the genesis of Barrie's plays, it is generally true that he found inspiration in them less frequently or less obviously than in the events of his own life.

3.

Barrie's notebooks not only provide information about the sources of many plays, but they also illustrate a rather unusual feature of his writing method. This was his practice of recording an idea for a play and then turning it over in his mind for a considerable period of time before he attempted to expand it into full-length form. The intervals during which Barrie allowed his ideas to germinate in his imagination varied in length but tended to increase as he grew older; for his next-to-last play an interval of eighteen years passed between the first mention of the central theme and the final expansion of it in dramatic form. The hasty and unreflective way in which Barrie had written his early newspaper articles was thus supplanted by a slower and more painstaking method.

Barrie adopted this system, probably for the first time, when he approached the writing of what he called his first "big novel," *The Little Minister*. He began to make notes for the story in 1888, but instead of rushing it into completion, as he had done with his earlier books, he allowed his ideas ample time to mature, and he did not actually complete the novel until 1892. Another four-year period passed before he attempted a dramatization of the book. The composition of the farce *Walker, London* extended over the same four-year span as the novel, the earliest mention of it appearing in the notebooks of 1888 and the finished play not until 1892. Similarly the situation which stimulated Barrie to invent *The Admirable Crichton* was jotted down in 1899, but the play was not completed until the autumn of 1902. In the case

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 288.
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 374.
[12] *The Poetical Works of James Hogg* (Edinburgh, 1822), I, 178.

of *Peter Pan*, the first entry which unmistakably refers to the play was made in early 1903, slightly less than two years before the play's première, which would indicate a relatively short germination period for this work. Actually, however, the origins of the play go back much further, to the imaginative games of Barrie's boyhood and especially to the hundreds of stories he invented for the Davies boys, later his wards, to whom he acknowledged his indebtedness many years later in the dedication to the published edition of the play.

Barrie's practice of recording ideas for plays long before he worked them into fully-developed form became particularly marked after 1905. The plays which have the longest incubation periods that can be definitely fixed were *Dear Brutus* and *Mary Rose*, two of the last three full-length plays that he wrote. The theme and general plot of *Dear Brutus* were first recorded in scenario form in 1905, but the play was not written until 1917; its composition thus covered a span of at least twelve years. *Mary Rose*, like several other works, appeared in embryonic form in a passage of *The Little White Bird* (1902), in which Barrie alluded to the plight of a ghost-mother who returns to earth to look after her child and finds that he has changed past recognition.[13] To this idea Barrie added another plot complication, the mysterious disappearance of his heroine, which he drew from the ballad "Kilmeny" referred to in the notebook of 1905. Thus the germination of this play covered an interval of eighteen years from its first mention in *The Little White Bird*, and of fifteen years from the time Barrie became interested in the possibilities of the Kilmeny legend. Other plays which illustrate Barrie's practice in this respect are *A Kiss for Cinderella*, first briefly mentioned under the heading "Cinderella play" in 1905 and not finally written until 1916, and three one-act plays: *The Will*, the plot of which was sketchily indicated in the notebook of 1904 but not written until 1913; *Old Friends*, which under the notation "drink play" appeared in outline form as early as 1907 but was not written until 1910, and *The Ladies' Shakespeare*, which Barrie had thought of as a vehicle for Maude Adams in early 1905 but did not complete until 1914.

As the notebooks clearly illustrate, Barrie's tendency to record an idea and then allow it to lie fallow grew steadily more pronounced; for each of the plays written after 1902 (with the sole exception of *The Boy David*) he allowed himself a progressively longer period in which to develop his material. Mackail notes that by 1905 the germinal idea for every remaining full-length play that Barrie was to write (again excepting *David*) and for many of the one-acts as well, had already been recorded in the notebooks.[14] This curious fact may not necessarily indicate a drying-up of Barrie's inventive powers, as Mackail suggests (since Barrie continued to record new ideas in his notebook), but rather may be attributed to an increasingly painstaking method of composition, so that each successive play required greater expenditure of time and made increasingly severe demands upon his perseverance.

4.

The carefulness of Barrie's craftsmanship is strikingly illustrated by his practice of making extensive and meticulous preparatory notes before beginning the actual composition of a play. Once his

[13] J. M. Barrie, *The Little White Bird* (New York, 1913), p. 40.

[14] Mackail, pp. 374-75.

interest in an idea had been rekindled, Barrie began to compile a long series of separately-numbered notes which varied in content according to the problem confronting him. Although he sometimes began by writing a rough scenario of his plot, he apparently devoted most of his time and attention to amassing details concerning the characters, setting, and general background, occasionally jotting down scraps of dialogue or whole scenes in rough form.

The notebooks show that Barrie had adopted this practice by the time he wrote *The Little Minister*, for which he made approximately six hundred numbered notes during a period of less than two years. Barrie's preparation for writing the novel was indeed "businesslike and painstaking," as Mackail has described it, for besides recording many details of the characterizations of hero and heroine, fragments of scenes, and careful descriptions of the setting and minor characters, Barrie even compiled a glossary of Scottish words and expressions of possible usefulness.[15] Similarly, Barrie prepared himself for the task of writing *Peter Pan* with "almost unimaginable thoroughness"; during a single year he wrote over five hundred separate notes for the play in one continuous series in his notebook and, as the work progressed, recorded almost an equal number on separate sheets.[16] The persistence of this habit, as well as the time he devoted to it, is revealed in a letter Barrie wrote only two years before his death. Having recommended the system of preparatory notetaking to a younger writer, Barrie remarked: "At any rate, the taking of myriads of notes first has always been my way and occupied me longer than the actual writing of *David*."[17] Before he had attempted *The Boy David*, Barrie had spent many hours reading books on the Old Testament background and making his usual copious notes.

Although he gave careful attention to the details of his plays before he began to write, apparently using the preparatory notetaking as a device to stimulate his imagination, Barrie seems to have been relatively unconcerned with plotting the overall structure in advance. He sometimes wrote scenarios of varying degrees of completeness, but when he began the actual composition he often abandoned or ignored them, either because he preferred to let his story grow as he wrote or because he was incapable of holding himself to a plan. Charles Frohman, who as the producer of twenty-one different plays by Barrie was thoroughly familiar with his working method, commented on Barrie's habit of writing without first laying out the broad "architecture" of the play:

> Barrie . . . is just as apt to start writing a play by beginning at the third act. Then, when by writing through the third and fourth acts he has reached the fifth and is nearly ready to commence the first, he thinks it great fun to decide suddenly that the third act shall be the first.[18]

When Barrie began to expand his notes into full-length form, his inventive powers often led him into a maze of intricate complications and profuse detail, sometimes far astray from his original purpose. Cynthia Asquith, Barrie's secretary and close friend for many years, has described this phase of his creative process as follows:

> Once Barrie took a pen into his hand something unpremeditated nearly always ran out of it. His subconscious was more than a col-

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[16] *Ibid.*, p. 350.
[17] Letter to Cynthia Asquith, November 10, 1935. *Letters of J. M. Barrie*, p. 235.
[18] Quoted by J. A. Hammerton, *Barrie: The Story of a Genius* (New York, 1929), p. 399.

laborator. It could, too often did, take control. He might make a myriad notes before he began to write, but he never quite knew what would emerge.[19]

Later Barrie pruned the over-luxuriant growth and skillfully adapted to meet the practical demands of the stage. With only two possible exceptions (*The Admirable Crichton* and *Dear Brutus*), Barrie wrote his plays without having a definite plot structure clearly in mind, composing in a scene-by-scene fashion and producing a vast amount of material which was eventually discarded.[20]

5.

Barrie's practice of permitting his play structure to remain fluid until relatively late in the process of composition may partly account for the amount of rewriting he did. In his maturity Barrie was continually revising his work, not only polishing stylistic details but often making drastic changes in plot or characterization, sometimes even after a play had been produced. Here again one finds Barrie departing from the journalistic practice of his youth, when the conditions under which he wrote allowed little or no time for revision. After his death it was discovered that two different manuscripts for the 150,000-word novel, *The Little Minister,* existed, one the version originally prepared for serial publication, the other a complete revision made the following year for the two-volume edition. Manuscripts uncovered by his literary executors reveal that Barrie sent off to the typist several different versions of most of his full-length plays, and that even his most trivial efforts were carefully polished: among his papers, for example, were found ten typescript versions of the ballet-fantasy *The Truth about the Russian Dancers* and six of the one-act play *La Politesse*.[21] He also made corrections and alterations in the proofs for each of the many editions of his works during his lifetime. In later years the habit of revising seems to have been almost compulsive. When he prepared the private printing of *The Greenwood Hat,* a collection of early newspaper articles interlarded with nostalgic commentary, designed as a Christmas present for his friends, Barrie could not resist retouching his early work—although presumably his intention had been to preserve some examples of the writing he had done in the 1880's.

Barrie not only rewrote his plays many times before they went into production, he also revised them extensively during the rehearsal period. He had adopted this practice at least as early as 1897, when Charles Frohman prepared the American production of *The Little Minister.* Since Frohman was interested in the play mainly as a vehicle to bring Maude Adams to stardom, he secured drastic alterations in the script before beginning rehearsals and continued to demand changes right up until the opening. The role of Babbie was so enlarged at the expense of the other characters that the play as finally presented bore little resemblance to the original novel, and in later years Barrie spoke disparagingly of it as a patchwork concoction. When the play was subsequently produced in London, Barrie was in constant attendance during the two-month rehearsal period. According to Cyril Maude, the actor-manager who starred in the play, Barrie "worked and helped in every minute of the stage management" and was "most wonderfully helpful, even writing in whole scenes when he considered his work needed it."[22]

[19] Asquith, *Portrait of Barrie,* p. 221.
[20] Mackail, p. 312.
[21] *Ibid.,* pp. 516, 544.
[22] Cyril Maude, *Behind the Scenes with Cyril Maude* (London, 1927), pp. 110, 89.

Cynthia Asquith, who attended rehearsals with Barrie at a time when five of his plays were running concurrently in London, has also testified to the importance of Barrie's contribution during this period:

> Rehearsals made me realize that the finished article of a play owed as much to Barrie the producer as to Barrie the author. . . . I knew, too, that for him the writing of a play was never finished. New ideas continually sprouted. To the dismay of the producer not even the dress rehearsal was thought to be too late for some major alteration or addition.[23]

So numerous were the changes wrought in *Peter Pan* during rehearsals that the manuscript had to be retyped daily and the acting version was not ready for delivery to the Lord Chamberlain's office until eight days before the première.[24]

Many times Barrie continued to revise a play even after its opening. Despite the remarkable success of the first performance of *Peter Pan*, Barrie continued to add new touches to the play; Dion Boucicault, director of the original production, never knew from night to night what lines he would hear, because Barrie was constantly giving the actors changes in the script. For sheer persistence in rewriting, in fact, Barrie must have set a record with *Peter Pan*, for the play was never exactly the same for two successive seasons during his lifetime, and the history of the script is complex enough to have been made the subject of a book.[25] The play which probably was most completely altered on short notice, however, was *The Adored One* (1913), which had begun as a one-act, *Seven Women*, and later had been expanded to create a vehicle for Mrs. Patrick Campbell. It was a disastrous failure on opening night. In a desperate effort to save part of Frohman's investment, Barrie immediately began rewriting it and in three weeks had completed a new version. Despite the drastic changes introduced into the play, it had only a short run in London, but when subsequently produced in the United States as *The Legend of Leonora*, the new version had a respectable run.

The purpose of Barrie's revisions naturally varied. Very early in his career he became adept at recognizing the special demands of the theatre and he often rewrote to take advantage of the medium, adjusting dialogue so that it could be spoken effectively and adding scenes to exploit the resources of the theatre. Typical of the latter were the elaborate stage effects devised for *Peter Pan* and the complicated details of the island setting, personally supervised by Barrie, for the original production of *The Admirable Crichton*. On other occasions Barrie was equally ready to delete or transpose scenes when the stage effects proved cumbersome or distracting, as happened in the production of *The Boy David*, in which Barrie struggled to insure that David's visions would flow together in swift succession.[26] Other changes made by Barrie added nuances of characterization, such as the line inserted in *Peter Pan* to the effect that no one could touch Peter. Still others altered the plot; for example, the original production of *A Kiss for Cinderella* conveyed a happy ending, but the stage directions which Barrie added for the published edition indicate that the heroine will soon die.

Sometimes when his earlier plays were revived (as happened many times during his lifetime), Barrie revised for the

[23] Asquith, p. 84.

[24] J. M. Barrie, *When Wendy Grew Up: An Afterthought*, with a foreword by Sydney Blow (London, 1957), p. 10.

[25] Roger Lancelyn Green, *Fifty Years of Peter Pan* (London, 1954).

[26] Letters to Cynthia Asquith, December 24 and 27, 1936. *Letters of J. M. Barrie*, pp. 236-37.

purpose of bringing them up to date. For the revival of *The Admirable Crichton* in 1920, Barrie wrote a new fourth act giving Crichton patriotic speeches about the recent war and softening the irony of the ending, in an attempt to bring the play closer to postwar public sentiment. This revision provoked a complaint from the London critic A. B. Walkley, who wrote Barrie begging him to leave his plays alone, to which Barrie replied that Walkley was probably right but that he was apparently so constituted that he "couldn't sit out a month's rehearsals" if he didn't "meddle with the MS."[27]

6.

This examination of several aspects of Barrie's practice as a playwright shows that, whatever the artistic limitations of his work may be, he was unquestionably a skillful and diligent craftsman. His ability to extract dramatic material from a wide variety of sources and to transmute it into theatrical form, his willingness to allow his ideas to mature slowly in his imagination, his careful preparatory notetaking, and his lifelong perseverance in revising his work, all illustrate how far he had departed from what is generally thought of as the journalistic method. In some respects, however, his early training in journalism may well have helped him: because he was obliged to write rapidly and in quantity, he soon learned the importance of wasting nothing and became keenly aware of literary possibilities in all kinds of material. His years in journalism may also account for the fact that even after his success was firmly established and his plays eagerly sought, Barrie never regarded his work as sacred, and, far from being complacent about it, he was continually seeking ways to improve it. Finally, the early years in London probably established Barrie's capacity for hard work—a habit in which Barrie himself took a certain justifiable pride. "I should say that if he were proud of anything, it was not of his gifts but of his diligence," writes Cynthia Asquith. "The number of hours he had worked at a stretch, the number of words he had written in a week, was his nearest approach to a boast." It was to his lifelong diligence and perseverance that Barrie attributed such success as he had achieved, as he indicated in typical fashion in a speech to the Authors' Club in 1932: "I fell in love with hard work one fine May morning and I continued to woo her through a big chunk of half a century."[28]

[27] Letter to A. B. Walkley, February 3, 1920. *Letters of J. M. Barrie*, p. 166.

[28] J. M. Barrie, *M'Connachie and J. M. B.* (New York, 1940), p. 230.

THE LOW VARIETIES PROGRAM IN MEMPHIS, 1865-1873

Eugene K. Bristow

IN a period of political, social, and economic upheaval, professional variety theatre in Memphis from 1859 to 1880 followed a pattern that was distinguished by sudden changes in direction, in personnel, and in fare.

By the season of 1861-1862, variety programming had shifted from its original dual purpose of instruction and entertainment almost solely to entertainment. Lectures, concerts, and panoramas had virtually disappeared from the boards, while minstrel and variety troupes had substantially increased. When Federal troops occupied Memphis in 1862, the character of both the city and variety theatre changed almost overnight. Northern merchants, soldiers, gamblers, and prostitutes soon overran the city. Women hesitated to leave their homes, and variety audiences became primarily male.

In the spring of 1864, a new variety theatre—characterized as "low varieties"—was spawned. Its fare approximated that of vaudeville, with the usual minstrel acts, farces, and burlesques liberally interspersed with specialty numbers, but the core of the program was the female performer. Other attractions included a wine room where patrons could talk to the variety girls after their turns onstage, and pretty waitresses who served drinks and cigars to the all-male audiences. Although this new variety theatre—devoted to wine, women, and song—flourished in Memphis after the war, the significant feature is that manager after manager failed in the low varieties business. While it was true that lack of business acumen and necessary capital and a low level of performance were factors which stimulated financial losses, often the difference between success and failure might well be traced to the way managers planned and organized the formal program.[1] My purpose in this paper is to describe the general format of the variety program, the inherent problem of the variety show, and the means used by Memphis managers in their attempts to solve the problem.

The general scheme of the program, highly reminiscent of the minstrel format, consisted of three parts. The first part opened with the entire group seated in a semicircle. The men sat at the ends, and the variety girls—dressed in tights and short skirts—were crammed in the center. Comedians cracked jokes,

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[1] Theatrical activity in Memphis from 1859 to 1880 was not confined to the low varieties. During this same period, a legitimate theatre, the New Memphis Theatre, was open nightly during the theatrical season. Moreover, professional variety theatre in Memphis developed rather broadly as two general types: those theatres and programs which catered to all-male audiences (the low varieties) and those theatres devoted to the family trade. The saturation point was reached in the autumn of 1869, with seven low varieties offering nightly entertainment for men and two theatres presenting sporadic programs for the family. This article is limited, however, to the formal program presented in the low varieties. *Memphis Daily Appeal*, 1859-1864; 1867-1875; 1879. *Memphis Daily Argus*, 1860-1862, scattered issues; 1865. *Memphis Daily Avalanche*, 1862; 1866; 1870-1871; 1880, scattered issues. *Memphis Daily Public Ledger*, 1865-1868; 1870-1878.

singers trilled popular pieces, and a sketch or two completed the first part. The second part was a series of individual and group acts called the olio, during which a single performer might appear from two to a dozen times. The length of the olio probably depended upon the talent, the material, and the patience of the audience. The third part was the climax of the evening. Here managers concentrated their star actors and singing and dancing girls in some kind of group performance. If the program were a special one—a Saturday night bill or a benefit performance—the length of the olio would be increased, and additional sketches would be included in the third act. The three-part arrangement, rather consistently followed by Memphis managers, afforded a framework which unified, in some measure, the conglomerate fare presented in a single evening.[2]

The very nature of *variety* implies diversity and change—different, new, unusual—and yet without and within the low varieties program there were factors at work which prompted an element of monotony, uniformity, similarity. One external factor was the extreme length of the program. It lasted over four hours. Theatres usually opened at 6:30 or 7:00 p.m., with the performance beginning one-half hour later and lasting until around midnight. Although managers might advertise an "endless variety of songs, dances, farces, negro interludes,"[3] the result in actual performance was probably "endless," not "variety." Moreover, the variety girls sold drinks in the wine room, and one Memphis newspaperman estimated that the average girl spent approximately three hours selling to about two hours performing. Since some girls were hired more for their talents in the wine room than for their abilities on the stage, the level of their stage performances was probably not inspired.

The daily squibs and advertisements in Memphis newspapers after the war suggest a large assortment of acts and performers. Yet an analysis of the usual fare—that consistent and steady diet offered night after night, year after year, to the Memphis public—indicates a limited offering of some five areas: songs, dances, dumb acts, specialty numbers, and sketches. Not only were these areas the staples of any first-class low varieties, but they also represented the extent of the customary program. There was, however, a diversity of sorts within each area. Songs and ballads (either sentimental or comic) ranged from the *Whippoorwill,* sung by women, to *I Am Par Excellence,* sung by men. Jig and clog dances as well as ballets occurred nightly, while various combinations of song-and-dance men and women (with burnt cork and without) remained on the bills throughout the period. Dumb acts included acrobatic, trapeze, gymnastic, and tumbling performances. Jugglers, contortionists, high-wire artists, knife throwers, and human flies flooded the variety market. Specialty numbers ran the gamut. Irish comedians, magicians, and minstrel jokesters were popular in the late sixties, whereas ventriloquists, quick-change artists, Dutch comedians, bird imitators, and child actors attracted crowds in the early seventies. Now and again throughout the period, female impersonators, as well as dog, donkey, and monkey acts, appeared on the boards. Sketches were an important feature of the usual program, and they ranged from minstrel acts and farces to local burlesques. To support the songs, dances,

[2] *Appeal,* Dec. 25, 1869; Oct. 28, 1871. *Ledger,* Oct. 28, 30; Nov. 3, 1871; Oct. 8, 1875.

[3] *Ledger,* Aug. 20, 1866; Sept. 19, 1872; Feb. 17; Oct. 8, 1875. *Appeal,* Oct. 28, 1869. *Avalanche,* June 5, 1870.

dumb acts, specialty numbers, and sketches, a first-rate company would include a musical director with his small band of musicians.[4]

Other factors also served to restrict variety. A dance routine has a limited number of steps, an acrobatic performance has only so many twists and turns, a magician eventually runs out of tricks and surprises. Then, too, Memphis low varieties depended for the most part on a nightly core of habitués (men who would return to the theatre every evening) to insure a consistent income. As a result, a new program encored enthusiastically the first evening became less novel by the second night and rather ordinary by the third. Moreover, as the number of variety houses increased following the war, competition among theatres for a nightly crowd was intensified.

Here then was the essential problem confronting the low varieties manager as he planned and organized the evening's entertainment. He had a long program—staffed primarily by variety girls serving a dual role—a restricted program that in actual performance was inherently monotonous and uniform. Memphis managers from 1865 to 1873 attempted to solve the problem in two ways: changing the usual program and extending the scope of variety fare.

Two popular methods for achieving variety were to change the order of appearances and to delete old material and talent and add new. The attempt to add freshness to the bill each night is indicated by recurring phrases in squib after squib: "new acts, new songs, dances, farces," "rare attractions for this evening."[5] As long as there was a popular demand, favorite stars were retained, but frequent changes of talent did not occur as readily as advertised. In the autumn of 1872 the *Ledger* complimented the manager of the Varieties Theatre in a way which rather belied the nightly change of bill so often advertised by variety managers in the city:

> Every week brings forth new faces, and triweekly a fresh bill of fare is introduced, brimful of merriment. . . . Manager Charles O. White promises us all the leading stars in the variety profession in rapid succession during the present season, which will be a real treat and relieve us of that monotonous routine which has characterized the variety performance for so long a time in this city.[6]

Other methods employed by managers were to increase the number of star performers and to decrease the number of single appearances each evening. Generally, companies expanded by leaps and bounds throughout the period. In 1866 a company with five stars and ten or twelve ballet girls was customary. Two years later there were some fifteen stars, and by 1872 the number had jumped to thirty-five. With large companies, managers sought to avoid monotony by sending the same actors onstage fewer times each night.

However, variations alone in the usual program did not solve the problem of inherent monotony. To boost the number of patrons, managers were forced to extend the scope of the program—to offer "something to please every taste."[7] As a result, the novelty, the unusual, and

[4] *Avalanche*, June 5; July 29, 1870. *Ledger*, July 6-7, 20, 30; Aug. 4, 20, 24; Sept. 10; Oct. 10; Nov. 9, 1866; April 21-26, 30, 1868; Sept 26, 1870; Jan. 7; June 12; July 13, 1871; Feb. 7; March 21; May 15; Nov. 19, 27, 1872; April 8; May 27, 1873; Feb. 17; Oct. 8, 1875. *Appeal*, Jan. 16, 26; Nov. 23, 1867; Jan. 12; Feb. 15-16; March 10; April 25-26, 1868; Jan. 17; Feb. 7; Oct. 3, 10, 12-13, 29; Nov. 17-18, 20, 21; Dec. 30 1869; April 26, 1873.

[5] *Ledger*, Nov. 1, 1865; Aug. 13, 24, 27; Sept. 13, 1866; Dec. 4, 19, 1876. *Appeal*, April 17, 20; Nov. 23, 1867; Feb. 5; March 28; July 2; Oct. 3, 1868; Oct. 28, 1869.

[6] *Ledger*, Oct. 14, 1872.

[7] *Appeal*, April 17; Nov. 23, 1867; March 28; July 2; Oct. 3, 1868. *Ledger*, Nov. 5, 1865; Aug. 13, 25; Sept. 13, 1866; Oct. 21; Nov. 26, 1872.

the sensational became keywords in variety programming. To bolster a sagging box office, there were jig and clog dance contests between members of a company, as well as audience participation contests. For example, one actress, for her benefit, advertised a beautiful silver horn to be presented to the fireman selling the most tickets. Enterprising managers built audiences by means of give-away programs, and prizes included such items as tin cups, bird cages, silver dollars, Panama hats, and pigs. There were advertisting stunts. One stunt engineered by the manager of the Good Idea Theatre was an outdoor exhibition by Mlle. Carolista, tightrope performer, in the summer of 1866, which not only attracted large street crowds but also advertised the theatre. Brass-band parades in the early seventies served the same purposes. Unusual acts, such as boxing matches, monstrosities, and Indians, made especially good drawing cards. Generally, the rule in variety programming ran somewhat as follows: the rarer the attraction, the more novel the approach, the larger the crowds in Memphis low varieties.

To satisfy the insatiable demand for novelty, managers turned now and again to the large group spectacle. Ranging from burlesques, pantomimes, musical extravaganzas to sensational dramas and tableaux, spectaculars were usually saved for Saturday night bills or benefit performances. When intensive competition among theatres developed, however, managers would schedule the spectacular as the climax of the nightly bill, and a popular one would run a week or two. The appeal of the spectacular depended upon the new and sensational, but with inadequate production facilities and short rehearsals its scope was limited. For example, a manager sometimes pooled his variety girls—complete in tights, spangles, and padding—worked out a slight plot line, added songs and dances, and advertised a "great sensational extravaganza," such as *The Female Slave Market,* "which surpassed anything ever seen."[8] If he attempted it with the usual two-hour rehearsal, it probably did.

In their search for the novel and sensational—and caught up in the fervor of intense competition—the managers were led astray time and again by jumping on the bandwagon. Low varieties managers probably understood the proven rule in programming (the rarer the program, the more novel the approach, the larger the crowds), but they could not resist imitating each other. For example, if one manager featured a child actor and audiences flocked into his theatre, other managers seemed to follow his lead. Soon Memphians were knee-deep in child actors, and the fad quickly lost its sheen. If a Dutch farce proved popular one night at the Varieties Theatre, a similar Dutch farce opened two nights later at the Gayeties. Human flies in one low varieties meant ceiling walkers in the next. Moreover, with imitative programming managers only reduced the scope of variety fare, and audiences faced with a choice between two similar fads invariably rushed to the theatre which offered, in their opinion, the outstanding one. Perhaps the best illustration of bandwagon programming was the prevalence of the can-can dance in 1869-1870.

The can-can took Memphis by storm

[8] *Avalanche,* July 29, 1870. *Appeal,* Dec. 11-12, 1867; July 2-3, 1868; May 15; Oct. 29; Nov. 17-18, 20, 21; Dec. 25, 1869; Feb. 1, 3, 1870. *Ledger,* March 7; July 24-25; Aug. 4, 6-7; Sept. 10, 20, 22, 1866; April 27-29, 1868; March 10; Sept. 3; Dec. 9, 1870; March 27; April 12; June 3; July 6; Aug. 2; Oct. 12-14; Dec. 1, 5-7, 1871; Jan. 6; Feb. 29; March 15, 26; May 13; June 25; July 3; Oct. 31, 1872; April 8, 1873.

in March 1869, when Charley Broom, manager of the Varieties Theatre, featured a beautiful Irish girl, Maggie Cox, whose stage name was Aline LeFavre. "The *Can-can de Mabille* . . . was magnificent and set everybody wild."[9] The startling effect of LeFavre and the dance resulted in rapid changes of variety programming throughout the city. For example, the night following her opening, Jake Etley, manager of the Gayeties, instituted a can-can dance as the climax of his nightly entertainments, but his patrons scampered to see LeFavre. Even though he cut his admission price from fifty to twenty-five cents, Etley could not compete with LeFavre at the Varieties. He closed up shop and sold out to Broom in April. By the following May, LeFavre and her can-can troupe were dancing nightly at J. W. Thompson's Parlor Concert Hall. Three weeks later Charley Broom closed his doors "for want of patronage, the can-can at Thompson's having drawn all his customers away."[10] LeFavre left Memphis that summer but returned the following March and danced successfully for five months. Although rival managers billed can-can dancers to compete with LeFavre, she consistently drew crowded houses with a skill described even by her detractors as artistic but diabolical. In the summer of 1870 the *Ledger* commented:

> LeFavre still can-cans in the most elegant and graceful style of *abandon*, and howsoever others may try to imitate her at other places, they are as indistinct, and, compared to the original are as much alike, as the shadow is to the substance.[11]

Confronted with selecting LeFavre or similar can-can dancers in 1869-1870, Memphians inevitably chose LeFavre.

From 1865 to 1873, Memphis managers attempted to solve the problem of similarity in variety. But in an age when the novelty attracted crowds, manager after manager lost his sense of proportion—and eventually his shirt—by scheduling imitations of the current fad. By jumping on one bandwagon after the other, managers restricted and reduced variety in the low varieties program. The two strongest forces in variety theatre (Charley Broom and Aline LeFavre) died during the season of 1872-1873; and with three yellow fever epidemics (1873, 1878, 1879), a national depression, and a rising city debt, variety theatre in Memphis took a turn for the worse after 1873. Five years later variety entertainment had virtually disappeared in Memphis. However, with the beginning of a new Memphis in 1880, variety was to chart a new course—a course which would lead ultimately to that vaudeville presentation described by Douglas Gilbert as "America in motley."

Today the vaudeville theatre has vanished from the American scene, and burlesque entertainers play to dwindling audiences, but variety in all its shapes and sizes has not been lost in the shuffle. The variety program is still seen in the night clubs and on television, and the inherent problem of similarity in variety is as real today as it was in Memphis almost a century ago.[12]

[9] *Appeal*, Jan. 16, 26, 1867; Dec. 27, 1868; Feb. 2, 7; March 7, 11, 16, 1869. *Ledger*, Jan. 16, 1867; Feb. 13, 1872; May 9, 22, 1873.

[10] *Appeal*, March 16-19, 24, 28; April 4, 20; May 7-12, 15, 27-30; June 7, 14, 1869.

[11] *Ledger*, March 9; June 4, 7, 9, 11, 21; July 10, 1870; Feb. 26, 1873. *Appeal*, July 12, 1870. *Avalanche*, April 8, 10, 16-17, 24, 28, 30; May 13, 17-18, 20-22, 24; June 5, 1870.

[12] *Ledger*, Nov. 5, 1873; April 24, 27; Sept. 4, 1874; Feb. 13; May 1, 10; Nov. 8, 1875; April 12; Dec. 4, 19, 1876; Feb. 22, 26; Sept. 25, 1877; March 2, 4, 1878. Douglas Gilbert, *American Vaudeville: Its Life and Times* (New York, 1940), p. 3.

UNIVERSITY RADIO FOR MAXIMUM SERVICE

F. Craig Johnson and Archie M. Greer

THE problem in educational radio of providing a maximum broadcasting service with limited funds has been the subject for much research. Radio educators continue to examine the relative cost and advantages of AM, FM, and carrier current as a means of training their students and serving their audience.

Several systems are in effect in educational institutions today. One plan is to limit the broadcast service to a campus area by means of a carrier current, or a low power FM transmitter. This provides the untrained student with experience without exposing him to a critical community audience. A second plan is to provide a maximum service to a community, or in some instances, to an entire state, by a single high power transmitter or a network of them. A staff of paid professional broadcasters is employed, and limited training is on an apprentice basis. A third plan is to have students present a limited number of programs over the established commercial AM transmission facilities. Other systems represent combinations of these three.

For the past fifteen years, Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, has been looking for the plan which would best serve the community and train the student. The experience of this school with carrier current, FM, and AM, therefore, might be useful to other educational institutions facing a similar problem. The concept of a radio laboratory for students has dominated the development of broadcasting at Ohio University. A limited broadcast service was begun in 1942, when a campus carrier current station was established as a laboratory for students in electrical engineering, journalism, and dramatic art and speech. These students have, since 1942, planned, written, produced, and publicized all programs aired on the station and have maintained all equipment necessary for broadcasting. The audience at first was limited to the student body. Even so, surveys of this student body indicated that only a small portion could receive the signal. In December 1949, a 10-watt FM transmitter was added to increase the student audience and to provide the student broadcaster with an opportunity to study the reactions of a community audience. The FM transmitter was not satisfactory either. Few students and few people in the community owned FM receivers. Hence, in 1956, in another attempt to serve the student body and the community, the university explored the possibilities of doing away with the carrier current and replacing it with a 100-watt AM radio transmitter. The educational radio policies of Ohio University then would have to conform to the policies established by the Federal Communications Commission. There would be, for instance, the obligation to serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity for 17 hours a day for the calendar year, instead of 8-10 hours a day for the academic year. The problems of administering a student training laboratory that would maintain professional standards and appeal to both the student body and

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community audience presented a real challenge. Three major problems were created by the contemplated change.

The first problem was cost. Primary funds used for broadcasting at Ohio University are appropriated by the administration from the State of Ohio with supplemental funds from the Campus Affairs Committee. These funds cover three general areas: supplies, equipment, and student personnel. Supplies needed for the operation of the carrier-current-FM radio station included U.P. Wire Service, clock service, and subscriptions to the record services of major recording companies. Additional supplies needed for AM included standard office supplies and engineering supplies such as tower service, replacement of tubes, and other expenses for maintenance of equipment. The additional equipment expenditures included purchase of new microphones, turntables, tape recorders, and such control equipment as is necessary to maintain the engineering standards of the Federal Communications Commission. The student personnel budget included increased salaries of engineers, typists, transmitter operators, department heads, and students who work during vacation

Operational Budget	Carrier Current	AM	Additional Expense
Supplies	$ 1,500	$ 2,700	$ 1,200
Equipment	2,000	3,800	1,800
Personnel	5,000	11,000	6,000
Total	$ 8,500	$17,500	$ 9,000

Cost of AM Changeover:	Transmitter	Operational
	$12,000	$ 9,000

periods. If it could be demonstrated that the additional expenditure increased student training opportunities and service to the audience, the change would be justified.

Student training presented a second problem. The change from carrier current to AM had to be compatible with the established concept of the student-operated radio station which served as a laboratory. The experience of broadcasting to an audience with a vested interest had to be educationally sound. On the one hand, the student had to be free to experiment and develop his ability to communicate his understanding of our culture through the medium of radio. On the other hand, he must be aware of his responsibility to a public receiving programs on the standard broadcast band. He must develop the qualities of the professional broadcaster. The training in the classroom is geared to developing in the student a full background in broadcasting, a skill in program production techniques, and the ability to work as a member of a team with an active creative imagination. In the student-operated radio station he is given the opportunity to test his own individual grasp of these concepts in the practical laboratory of experience.

The programs of this station consist of a variety of musical types ranging from the more current musical fads to the classics. News events are reported using the United Press wire service supplemented with local features written by students. Dramatic programming includes performances of dramatic scripts prepared as class projects. All local and campus activities are reported or broadcast from the point of origin by students. Intercollegiate athletic events such as football, basketball, baseball, track, and swimming are done play-by-play by student sportscasters. Public service announcements as well as promotion of local and campus activities are substituted for the commerical copy which the student will encounter in the field. It is a matter of station policy that any student being trained for broadcast-

ing will participate in all phases of the broadcast operation. Since most of these programs serve the public interest, convenience, and necessity, no radical changes in programming were anticipated. Contacts with public or civic agencies needed to be increased to serve the interest of the community. This would add to the training opportunities with no additional cost.

The third, and perhaps most critical, problem was that of gauging the effectiveness of programming. The commercial broadcaster is able to justify any programming by determining that enough people of the right kind are receiving the broadcast. If this can be translated into terms of increased sales, the programming is said to be effective.

The educator need not satisfy the demand to sell a product to the public. Without objective monetary measure, however, the broadcaster is faced with a subtler but equally challenging problem. The educational broadcaster is free to provide programs which he feels will be of benefit to his audience. He is not forced to give people what they want, but rather to give them what he feels they ought to want. On the other hand, unless he can demonstrate that people are listening, it is difficult to show that he is informing them of what they ought to want. Without a listening audience, it is extremely difficult to raise the cultural level of that audience or otherwise serve it. Basic to the evaluation of effect of the student station on the community audience, therefore, is an evaluation of the size of that audience.

Previous surveys had indicated that 90 per cent of the student audience who could receive the signal listened to Ohio University radio. With the change in the method of transmission and the increase in power, there was little doubt that the student audience would increase proportionately. Estimating the size of the audience in the surrounding community of Athens, Ohio, therefore, became the real problem. There had been little indication of any interest in university radio on the part of the people of Athens.[1] Only meager attempts had been made to survey the community prior to 1956. When the installation of an AM transmitter was proposed, the question came up, "Would the community accept the radio service?" In the fall of 1956, a project was undertaken to answer this question, with the aid of a grant from the National Association of Educational Broadcasters.

Two surveys of the FM and carrier current facilities were conducted during the academic year 1956-1957: the first, December 3-7, 1956, and the second, April 29-May 5, 1957. These were followed by two surveys conducted on December 2-6, 1957, and May 5-9, 1958 after the establishment of the 100-watt AM transmitter.

The sample used for the first survey included the 3,684 households in Athens, Ohio, and the surrounding area listed in the telephone directory. This represents 88-92 per cent of the 11,000 residents, according to the 1950 census and the Board of Trade. The following questions, pre-tested in two pilot studies, proved to be satisfactory:

1. "Are you now listening to your radio?" If the respondent answered "yes," the question, "To what station are you now listening?" was asked. If the reply was negative, question two was asked.
2. "Do you ever listen to WOUI,[1] the Ohio University Radio Station?" If the respondent answered "yes," the questions, "Could you tell me how many hours per week you do listen?" and "Do you listen on AM or FM?" were asked. If the respondent answered "no" to question two, question three was asked.
3. "Do you own an FM radio?"

[1] Changed to WOUB for the second two surveys.

4. "Do you have a television set or sets in your home?"
5. "Would you mind if one of our students were to contact you at a future time to ask some more questions about radio and TV?"

During the period from 7 to 10 p.m. for the week of each survey student interviewers called all the residents listed in the Athens phone book, and 75 per cent were reached for questioning.

Based on "Fall Facts Basics" published by *Sponsor* magazine in July, 1956, habits of radio listening in Athens, Ohio, compared with the national average as follows:

1. The national average of radio listeners between the hours of 7-10 p.m. is 12% of the population. Of the population of Athens, 7% listen to their radio during this period of time.
2. The national average of FM set ownership is 25% of the total population. In Athens, it is 25%.
3. The national average for television set ownership is 85%. In Athens it is 81%.

Thus the reader may relate the findings of our surveys to this approximate national average.

1. The evening radio listening pattern has remained constant. The University Radio Station has shown considerable gain in the share of the audience during these hours (7 to 10 p.m.).
2. The number of people who own FM radios seems to be declining, while the number of television set owners remains constant.
3. The *number* of people in the community of Athens, Ohio, who listen to Ohio University Radio has at least doubled since the changeover to AM in the fall of 1957.
4. Approximately 70-80% of the people in Athens, Ohio, now listen to the University AM - FM station for an average of 15 hours per week as compared to 25-30% who listened an average of 4 hours per week to the carrier current—FM station.
5. The *number* of people who listen on FM has remained fairly constant while the *number* of listeners on AM is about four times the number who listened to carrier current.

Non-scientific reactions to the station as indicated by telephone calls, mail, and casual conversation seem to indicate that programs are well-received by many segments of the population. Surveys of the student body done as part of the classroom projects indicate that all students are now able to receive the station and about 90% of them listen. Information available at this time indicates that classical music as well as cultural and informational programs is well received by both student and community audiences. Studies are now under way to explore the whole question of the program preference of all segments of the Ohio University radio audience.

Broadcasting at Ohio University today includes the full-time student operation of a radio station on the standard AM broadcast band. For seventeen hours per day, three hundred and sixty-five days per year, students are active in the same duties and responsibilities of station operation as the professional broadcaster. From their academic course of study, they learn the skills of communication. In their student laboratory, they can test the results of their efforts by an analysis of the audience to which they program. They become sensitive to the reactions of a community and their impact on that community. Ohio University feels that it has gained a listening audience and at the same time has increased the training opportunities for students in broadcasting. The basic operational and programming policy of the University has not been altered by a change from carrier current and FM to AM and FM. The $12,000 for the installation of an AM transmitter and the additional $9,000 for operating expense seem to be justified.

THE FORUM

RETIRED PROFESSORS

To the Editor:

The Retired Professors Registry is a joint project of the Association of American Colleges and the American Association of University Professors. It is financed by a grant from the Ford Foundation. The Registry serves as a national register for retired college and university faculty members who desire to be considered for academic appointments in institutions other than those from which they have retired. This project is an effort to meet part of the need for academic personnel arising from the shortage of qualified people created by mounting student enrollments.

All retired professors are eligible to register. Referrals are then made to administrators who have requested candidates; thereafter negotiations concerning employment are carried out by the registrants and the institutions. No fees are charged for any Registry services, and all referrals are handled confidentially.

At this moment, I am informed, there is a serious shortage of registrants in speech. Chairmen of departments from which professors have recently retired should encourage these professors to register. Registration forms may be obtained by writing to Dr. Louis D. Carson, Director, Retired Professors Registry, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

J. Jeffery Auer
Executive Vice-President, SAA

A FURTHER NOTE ON YVOR WINTERS' THEORY OF ORAL READING

To the Editor:

I quite agree with Irving Deer when he writes in the October 1958 Forum that Yvor Winters reads with a monotonous drone. I have not heard him in person, but I have heard his readings on the Library of Congress record, of which he says, "They will serve to indicate the method in a general way." I also agree with Winters' judgment of Randell Jarrell's reading of the poem "Lady Bates," also in the Library of Congress series. Winters calls it "very dramatic, very emotional, and very bad."

What has been overlooked in the judgments about the two performances, however, is, in my estimation, the main point; and that is that each of these men is, in his own way, an incompetent reader. If Jarrell is dramatic, emotional, and bad, Winters is undramatic, unemotional, and bad. It is naive of Winters to object to Jarrell's method of reading. Jarrell's tendency toward the dramatic and emotional is not that which disqualifies him as a reader, any more than does Winters' "maximum attention to movement" make his reading any better. The fact is that neither of them has the natural equipment or training to read well. Jarrell's voice is thin and cracked, and he has a marked speech defect. He has barely enough force to be audible, and knows nothing, or at least does not show that he knows anything, about tone support, tone coloring, touch, or any of the other things a reader must learn and

practice before he aspires to be someone worth listening to. Winters also betrays meagre natural endowment and lack of training. His voice is cold and flat. He cannot cope with the musical elements of his poems, and what he imagines to be "maximum attention to movement" is nothing more than a watered-down form of the old "ministerial chant," even to the upward inflexion at the end of each stanza.

Now, if the readers one is discussing have some reading ability, the question of their various approaches to a poem can be relevant. It is interesting, for example, to compare Richard Burton's interpretation of "Fern Hill" with that of Dylan Thomas. Burton's approach, which one might roughly classify as romantic or expressionistic, corresponds to what Winters calls, sarcastically, "dramatic improvement on the text." The reading is highly emotional, and it might be objected that the formal elements in the poem are too much subordinated to the feeling. Thomas, on the other hand, concerns himself mostly with the "musical essence," causing this, at times, to dominate the poem's information.

The same comparisons of approach can be made of practitioners in other performing arts. Josef Hoffman tended toward "classical" precision in his piano playing; Glenn Gould tends toward romanticism. David Oistrakh has a dry, "brilliant" technique on the violin, while Mischa Elman is more fluid and romantic. These men, artists all, could speak with authority on their techniques.

In brief, a performer's advocacy of a method is worthy of serious attention only if he is natively endowed with, or acquires by training, certain minimal skills. This applies to the art of oral interpretation as much as to any other performing art. No one would question Professor Winters' qualifications to discuss the art of poetry or of criticism. But his assumption that he knows how to read aloud, and that this entitles him to advocate a theory of oral interpretation, is merely an illusion.

RAY IRWIN
Syracuse University

NEW BOOKS IN REVIEW

ROBERT G. GUNDERSON, *Editor*

REPORT ON BURKE STUDIES

Donald C. Bryant

This is Supplement One, the continuation of a report on Burke studies begun eight years ago [*QJS*, XXXVI (1950), 547-551, *q.v.*], on the publication of Thomas W. Copeland's *Our Eminent Friend Edmund Burke: Six Essays*, which had been preceded shortly by Ross Hoffman and Paul Levack's *Burke's Politics*. At the time of our former report the great collections of Burke manuscripts owned by the Fitzwilliam family at Wentworth-Woodhouse and Milton had just been made accessible, and a new era in Burke studies had been born. Hence, eight years ago, we concluded: "A new broad highway in Burke scholarship is opening up, and Professor Copeland is setting a pace which it will not be easy to equal."

Could all the sanguine predictions of reviewers be as well fulfilled as this one has been, the credit of reviewers would stand appreciably higher than it does with readers if not with authors. The enlargement and rehabilitation of Burke go on steadily and rapidly, chiefly because of the stores of new biographical and interpretive material now accessible, but partly because of the periodic necessity of bringing history into harmony with new views and new frames of reference.

The Copeland-Milton Smith *Checklist*, detailing all the new letters and old, has been published (1955), and Hoffman's edition of Burke's letter-book as agent for the Colony of New York and of the Burke-O'Hara correspondence has appeared [rev. by D. C. B. in *AAA* (1956), 220]. Another item from 1955 is a paper-back reprinting of Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, with a new introduction by Thomas H. D. Mahoney. In 1957 was published the first volume of Carl Cone's projected two-volume biography and a brief, popular biographical essay by T. E. Utley. The same year brought the notebook of Burke's youth edited from the Sheffield manuscripts by H. V. F. Somerset. Charles Parkin's study of the moral basis of Burke's political thought [rev. by D.C.B. in *PQ*, July 1958] appeared late in 1956, followed this year by a more detailed and pretentious study of much the same problems (*Burke and the Natural Law*) by Peter J. Stanlis. This fall appeared also the first critical edition of Burke's *Sublime and Beautiful* (by J. T. Boulton) to be published in the two hundred years since the book was written; and this month marks the publication of the first volume of the complete *Correspondence* which is to be issued in eight volumes under the general editorship of Professor Copeland. Volume I, 1744-1768, is edited by Copeland himself.

From this body of publication a larger and at the same time a more vivid and

human Burke emerges—a Burke more securely grounded, for example, in the moral philosophy and metaphysic of Cicero and the Scholastics, but a Burke also more intimately, more deeply, more successfully and efficiently involved in the operational politics than many of his recent interpreters would have permitted us to believe.

Carl Cone's *Burke and the Nature of Politics: The Age of the American Revolution* follows Burke's life and thought from the beginning to the eve of the second Rockingham administration in 1782. Cone treats adequately Burke's childhood, youth, and young manhood, relying almost entirely, as one must, on the work of Samuels and Wecter. With the ample assistance now available, especially from the O'Hara letters, he is able to develop more fully and more consecutively than any previous biographer the period from Burke's first publications in 1756 and 1757 to his conjunction with Rockingham in 1765. Furthermore, Cone sifts the evidence carefully and contributes fair-minded judgment to the confused and uninspiring story of the Burkes' finances—the purchase of Gregories, the speculation in East India stock, the machinations over West Indian positions and profits; and he gives something better than incidental treatment to Burke's domestic life and his social and literary relations. These latter he may be reserving for extended treatment in his second volume. His principal attention, however, is lavished upon Burke's parliamentary activity as the architect and the operational leader of the Rockingham party after the first administration of the Marquis in 1765-1766. His principal theme is reasserted in the final paragraph of the book: That until 1782 Burke was the active, successful party politician, but that until the crises of the French Revolution he cannot properly be cast in the role for which he is honored or dishonored in nineteenth-century repute or in subsequent historical and political judgments, the role of the seer, the prophet, the philosopher of political conservatism.

This marking off of Burke's career is certainly defensible, and Cone has ample rhetorical warrant for using a different emphasis in Volume I from what we may suppose will govern Volume II. The new manuscript materials, both those now published (primarily Burke's own letters) and those yet unpublished (his later letters and especially the letters to Burke and his family and the thousands of pages of notes, drafts, and memoranda), provide much detailed evidence of Burke's work as an effective political operator—behind the scenes, in the party councils, in grass-roots organization, as well as in publication and in parliamentary speaking. This phase of Burke's early career it has been fashionable to belittle, both in his own day and ours (See my earlier report, 1950). Cone does an important service, therefore, in exploiting the new evidence to establish the realities of Burke's place in the Rockingham group and in the opposition. The samples of Burke's workaday activities collected on pages 73-74 could be multiplied many fold from the unpublished materials as well as from those long available. Burke's definition and justification of party in the *Present Discontents* and his exposition of the functions of a member of parliament and a statesman in the Bristol speeches of 1774 and 1780 have long been staples in the literature of politics. The case which Cone makes for Burke's practical responsibility for the growth of the concept of party and therefore of responsible cabinet government and for the establishment of

that concept in the actual behavior of the Rockinghams, though not conclusive, is especially strong in the light of the new letters. I find less congenial, however, the implication that the political philosophy, practical though it may be, of the *Present Discontents*, the Bristol speeches, the American speeches, and the *Letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol*, for example, is chiefly significant as one looks back for the seedlings of Burke's thought on the French Revolution.

The principal contributions of Professor Cone's book arise from the judicious and extensive use made in it of the so far unedited and only roughly explored new materials. In a sense, as he confesses, his work may be premature, since it appeared before even the first volume of the new *Correspondence*, the careful, laborious, and thorough editing of which will provide all future students the greatest possible assistance. Careful searching might well show that Professor Copeland's volume now published would have saved Professor Cone from certain errors or important omissions. It certainly would have eased the difficulties of research and would have amplified the detail of exposition available to the biographer. That Cone has covered the manuscript letters as comprehensively as he has, largely through microfilm, is to your reviewer's knowledge a feat of patience, intuition, and eyesight which is in itself no small virtue. As he notes, however, if one waits until all the materials are separately in order, one may wait out one's lifetime in vain. Professor Cone adds, "Still, after studying the Burke papers, I think I have something worthwhile to say. And by saying it now, I may be able to suggest fruitful areas of research to interested scholars."

Though Cone's first volume will stand alone as representing Burke's first major phase, and though one may be sure that it is a substantial contribution to the emerging portrait of the new Burke, one cannot be confident in one's estimate, and especially in one's sense of limitations, independently of the second volume. Cone's analysis of Burke's speaking, and generally of his great activity as a publicist, so far remains impressionistic and documentary rather than basically rhetorical and interpretive. This characteristic, though disappointing, is hardly extraordinary among political biographies. Of Burke's speech against using Indians in the war in America, for example, Cone writes (p. 300):

> This, from all reports, was one of Burke's greatest orations, rhetorically speaking. It lasted three and one half hours. Col. Barré wept as he listened. Governor George Johnstone congratulated the ministry for having cleared the galleries; had the public been present, their indignation would have endangered the safety of ministers. Alternately drawing tears and laughter from his listeners, Burke depicted the atrocities England's savage mercenaries had committed, and deplored the wounding of the national honor.

And (p. 330):

> Burke's oratory actually changed men's minds. On May 6 his great plea for justice to Ireland, a speech he knew would anger Bristol, converted Henry Dundas and twenty others.

And (p. 372):

> With renewed energy he took up on March 13 the clause abolishing the Board of Trade. This debate was delightful. Burke had never been better, or in his entire parliamentary career enjoyed such stature as he attained on this day. His condemnation of the board as an utterly useless agency completely overwhelmed his adversaries.

There follows a half-page summary of the contents, but no analysis to account for the initial judgment.

No doubt in his second volume Professor Cone will think himself ready for critical analyses and estimates of Burke the speaker, of Burke the writer, and

of the several other significant aspects of Burke. One hopes so.

Until the present time there has been no general collection of Burke's letters since the Fitzwilliam-Bourke four-volume edition of 1844, and there has never been a thoroughgoing scholarly edition. Almost any eighteenth-century man of letters or important political figure has fared better. Whatever the causes of the neglect, various scholars during the past generation have projected such an edition and have brought preparations for it to certain stages of completion. All have known that at least as many Burke letters lay scattered in diverse printed and manuscript sources as were included in the edition of 1844. Most have suspected that the inaccessible archives of the Fitzwilliam family, the heirs of the Marquis of Rockingham and of Burke's literary executors, contained many more.

During the 1930's Canon Robert Murray, whose biography of Burke appeared in 1931, made substantial progress towards collecting and editing scattered Burke letters, and sheets for portions of his edition had actually been printed. He died without completing the job, but before his death he was well on the way to securing for inclusion the previously unknown collection of Burke's letters to Charles O'Hara. These letters, perhaps the most valuable single group of new Burke letters, were later rediscovered, edited, and published by Professor Hoffman and are now included in their proper sequences in the Copeland-Smith *Checklist* and in the Copeland *Correspondence*.

The *Checklist* and the *Correspondence* should be considered together as complementary parts of a single monumental accomplishment. The checklist, or at least the work which went into it, had to precede the edition. Copeland and Smith had undertaken the compilation of the *Checklist* and the Index Society had undertaken to publish it before the opening of the Fitzwilliam papers. After necessary delay because of the new resources and the plans for a comprehensive *Correspondence*, the *Checklist* was published as planned.

In two lists, one chronological by letter and one alphabetical by correspondent, all the known and putative letters to and from Edmund Burke and the members of his family are identified, located, and briefly described. The total Burke correspondence treated in the volume falls little short of 7,000 letters, forming a spacious and easy guide to knowledge of Burke and his circle.

The publication of Volume I of *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, edited by Professor Copeland, we may readily conclude, is an event of great consequence. The succeeding seven volumes, each edited by a different scholar, are expected to appear at the rate of about one a year. Each volume will be provided with an index, but a full index will appear in a final volume.

No attempt is made in the edition to include all the known letters noted in the *Checklist*. The bulk and expense of such an undertaking would alone prohibit. The edition will be complete, however, in the sense that it will include all of Burke's own letters (about 1,700 as compared with 305 in the *Correspondence* of 1844) which survive in whole or in part and abstracts of missing letters when they are full enough to be significant. The editors will include letters to Burke when they seem important in themselves or necessary to the interpretation of Burke's. Most of Rockingham's letters to Burke, for example, will be included—and, we hope, some at least of Lady Rockingham's, of Portland's, and of Richmond's also.

Volume I contains 197 complete or partially preserved letters of Burke for a period represented in the *Correspondence* of 1844 by twenty-seven letters. Many of the letters in Volume I had appeared in other printed sources, especially the *Leadbeater Papers,* Prior's *Life,* and the *New Monthly Magazine.* Most of the manuscripts have been found, however, and 176 of the 197 letters are printed from manuscript. Twenty-four, including, for example, one to Adam Smith on his *Theory of Moral Sentiments,* are printed for the first time. Except for Professor Hoffman's recent publication of the O'Hara letters, that number would be about seventy-five.

Some of the periods and aspects of Burke's life especially illumined by the new letters in this volume are those about which we have previously been most uncertain: the ten years between the publication of his *Vindication* and his entry into Parliament, including the years with William Gerard Hamilton, the winters in Dublin when Hamilton was secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, the break with Hamilton, and the months preceding Burke's juncture with Rockingham; the whole relationship with Charles O'Hara, producing letters which amount at times to a personal diary of Burke with commentary by O'Hara, a relationship unsuspected by the biographers though about eighty letters from O'Hara to Burke lay in the Wentworth-Woodhouse collection; the circumstances and the experience of Burke's maiden speech in Commons.

Professor Copeland has provided for each letter, new and old, a headnote identifying the source, manuscript and/or printed; the address, postmark, and significant notations when they appear; and explanatory material concerning correspondent and circumstances when it would be helpful. Footnotes and symbols elucidate textual matters clearly and efficiently. Material annotation is full and illuminating—invaluable.

Protracted and detailed use of the edition may, of course, reveal weaknesses in the arrangement, editing, and annotation, but these would seem likely to be neither many nor consequential. The impetus to Burke-study is renewed with a vengeance.

A second publication from the manuscripts at Sheffield is *A Note-Book of Edmund Burke,* edited with a minimum of comment and machinery by H. V. F. Somerset of Oxford. It contains "poems, characters, essays and other sketches in the hands of Edmund and William Burke" dating mostly from the youthful years of the early 1750's. How the pieces may have been assembled by Edmund or William, it is impossible to tell. The manuscript is inscribed "Found among Mr. Wm. Burke's Papers by W. Cuppage," and one may surmise that the items preserved seemed the most personally interesting parts of the literary output of a couple of young men venturing into belles-lettres and politics. Mention may be made particularly of the original of the "character" of the ideal wife, assumed since Prior to be a portrait of Burke's wife Jane. Special interest of another sort may attach to the brief, original plan by Edmund for analyzing debatable questions, surveying one's resources, and developing arguments—a Baconian-like system of rhetorical *inventio.* Sir Ernest Barker is no doubt more generous than judicious when he writes in the Foreword that the pieces "show Burke finding a style (a noble and distinctive style) and exercising the powers of his thought on the topics which were to engage him for the rest of his life—religion, politics, men's characters and men's motives." Nevertheless the *Note-Book* provides bi-

ographical insight of a sort (and Dixon Wecter used it for the purpose) into the "missing years" in Burke's life.

Two books in the recent Burke bibliography represent the perennial necessity, generation by generation, to reinterpret history, especially the history of thought, harmoniously with new views and changed frames of reference. Each does battle with some of the well-known nineteenth-century and more recent ideas of the foundation of Burke's thought, which seemed tenable in the light of Burke's frequent attacks on speculative and metaphysical ideas in government, and of his contempt for the "rights of man" as professed by the French revolutionists. Some would have Burke a Benthamite utilitarian, all unaware as he may have been of his allegiance. Others like Alfred Cobban find Burke in a short-lived and unsuccessful revolt against the prevailing apathetic political philosophy of the eighteenth century. Most recently there has been a reassertion by Richard Weaver in *The Ethics of Rhetoric* of the facile idea that a bare expediency is the key to Burke's thought, that Burke's argument was characteristically not from principle but from circumstance.

With none of these interpretations does Charles Parkin in *The Moral Basis of Burke's Political Thought* or Peter J. Stanlis in *Burke and the Natural Law* have any patience. Each finds Burke's thought firmly grounded on belief in an unchanging moral order independent of time and place. In spite of his anti-Rousseauism, Burke, according to Parkin, could, for example, accept a form of "contract theory" which had as its fundamental element "the idea of a higher law binding on all men by virtue of their human nature." "Natural man," and "civil man," therefore, "are complementary, not opposed aspects of human nature." To similar purpose Stanlis reiterates to the point of redundancy the proposition that "Burke's faith in the Natural Law [always capitalized] supplied the religious spirit which infuses his entire political philosophy." Or, "He never regarded Natural Law merely as an abstract moral code, immediately perceived by private reason, but as the most imperative law of the spiritual side of man's common nature, permeating every good act of individuals, civil institutions, races, and nations."

Stanlis's is by far the more exhaustive treatment of the two. Not only does he construct the history of the idea of natural law from Cicero and the Stoics through the Scholastics to the eighteenth century, and examine Burke in detail for evidences of belief in the natural law in all its manifestations, but, his thesis long established, he surveys the "forty-eight replies" to Burke's *Reflections* for the corroboration they yield, by coincidence and by contrary, of Burke's reliance upon the "Natural Law" in his denial of the "Rights of Man." Stanlis's bibliographies, his full footnotes, and his digest of the "forty-eight replies" are highly useful quite apart from their bearing on the "Natural Law." (Parkin's notes, on the other hand, are so scant and bare as to be almost worse than none at all.)

Parkin offers a re-examination of Burke's thought primarily from the inside, and he establishes his central contention persistently, readably, and without fanfare. He finds that Burke's thought steadily leans towards a firm center of settled moral belief, that "as a formulation of the moral beliefs on which English society had been formed, his work was central to the political activity of his own time, and remained therefore an accurate expression of the

enduring principles of English political and social life."

There is a defect in Parkin's method, however, which fortunately has done far less damage than it should have. I quote from my notice in *PQ*, July 1958:

> [Parkin] acknowledges that Burke's ideas are never divorced in their expression and development from the practical circumstances of political and social function, that they are modified by the "particular contexts of their origin," that they emerge from the "cumulative record of multitudinous responses to the diverse events and issues of his political career," that "general principles are only real for him so far as they arise out of actual events and circumstances and return to them." In fact, this passage is a firm statement of the organic dependence of style—thought—upon the specific functions of discourse. Parkin elects, nevertheless, to treat Burke's writings and utterances without time and place, as an "assemblage of moral statement and assertion, to be articulated and reconciled within itself." . . . On the evidence of the manuscripts which reveal Burke's speaking and writing in all stages of development, it is apparent that for him thinking, writing, imagining, and speaking were all phases of a simultaneous process of live creation. Excising from his utterances, therefore, the impulses which brought them forth must result in serious over-simplification.

Stanlis's book, appearing two years after Parkin's, supplements but does not supersede it.

Edmund Burke's initial impact upon the great world of London was not political but literary and philosophical. For most of his life thereafter he was at home in the society of the Johnsons, the Humes, the Reynoldses and Goldsmiths, the Adam Smiths, the Garricks, and the Burneys as well as in the company of the Rockinghams, the Saviles, the Foxes, the Pitts, and the Norths. From his days as a student at Trinity he speculated on critical and literary problems, theoretical and practical, and he spent the better part of a decade writing the treatise which was published by Dodsley in 1757 as *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Now for the first time, as a kind of bicentenary token, a full critical edition, by J. T. Boulton of the University of Nottingham, has been published.

The first edition of the *Sublime* was widely read at once, and Burke became, much to his satisfaction, a recognized literary figure. He enjoyed his role and came to feel, as one observer wrote, that there was nothing quite so "charming as writers and to be one." Until the epithet began to be used in criticism of his parliamentary speeches, he appears to have enjoyed being called "Sublime and Beautiful" Burke!

Editor Boulton makes no extravagant claims for the permanent as opposed to the historical significance of Burke's treatise. He agrees that Burke's "claims as an aesthetician have rarely been seriously, never thoroughly, considered. On the other hand," Boulton continues, "while his theory is no longer acceptable, no reputable historian of the aesthetics, the literary criticism, or the taste of the eighteenth century fails to give a mention—frequently a detailed analysis—to Burke's . . . *Enquiry*." Boulton, therefore, lavishes careful attention through 125 pages of introduction and through ample notes to the text, on the analysis of Burke's ideas, principles, and methods, on the proper relations of the treatise to its predecessors and its contemporaries, and on its repute and its consequences for a subsequent century or so.

By comparison with Hume, Kames, Alison, and Gerard, for example, Burke, Boulton finds, is theoretically less defensible and practically less in accord with common sense, but also more venturesome, more independent, more provocative, and more readable. Burke took an uncompromising sensationalist, rath-

er than the more usual associationalist, position in accounting for the effect of natural and artistic phenomena on the mind. The position led him into many absurdities which his critics were quick to detect, but it enabled him to impress upon his contemporaries the importance of scientific examination of human psychology as the basis for aesthetic speculation. On the whole, however, Burke is found in accord with the temper of his time. In the Introduction on Taste, the part of the treatise which has had the longest and the fullest life, Burke "reiterates the commonplaces of his time; he indulges, like his contemporaries, in dubious generalizations supported by highly selective evidence. . . . But he is distinctive, chiefly by his bold sensationalism and his style."

In the treatise proper Burke develops his famous association of the sublime with the vast, the unclear, the menacing, the horrible, the destructive. This association, and the consequent transformation in the meaning of the term *sublime*, Mr. Boulton finds to have been the most common legacy from Burke's book even among persons who otherwise made no use of his theories. Boulton finds also that Burke is almost alone in his insistence upon the essential irrationality of our response to art and life. Poetry for Burke is not an art of imitation, the effect of whose images and words is to produce "clear" impressions on the understanding through description of objects "as they really are." Its words and images produce "strong" impressions on the emotions through description of objects "as they are felt." Lines of thought such as these, which Burke applies to rhetorical as well as to poetic composition, suggest the relevance of his ideas in the *Sublime* to the development of his own style and to the dominant characteristics of his speaking and rhetorical writing.

Because of its general thoroughness, its scope, and its adequacy, Boulton's critical edition of the *Sublime* may well be not only the first to be published but the last to be required. Yet there will remain for the determined Burkean the unpublished editions in the Cornell and Yale libraries, done as doctoral dissertations by Herbert A. Wichelns and Dixon Wecter. Had the present climate in Burke studies prevailed twenty to thirty years ago, either of these editions, of which Mr. Boulton appears to be understandably ignorant, might have been published and have made the present edition less necessary.

And so concludes Supplement One. If the pace of Burke studies in the past two years is approximated in the future, Supplement Two will be due in much less than another eight years.

BOOKS REVIEWED

BURKE AND THE NATURE OF POLITICS: THE AGE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. By Carl B. Cone. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957; pp. xvi+415. $9.00.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE (Volume I, April 1744—June 1768). Edited by Thomas W. Copeland. Cambridge: The University Press *and* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958; pp. xxvi+377. $8.00.

A CHECKLIST OF THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EDMUND BURKE. By Thomas W. Copeland and Milton Shumway Smith. Cambridge: The University Press for the Index Society, 1955; pp. xviii+481. No list price.

A NOTE-BOOK OF EDMUND BURKE. Edited by H. V. F. Somerset. Cambridge: The University Press, 1957; pp. xii+120. $3.50.

THE MORAL BASIS OF BURKE'S POLITICAL THOUGHT: AN ESSAY. By Charles Parkin. Cambridge: The University Press, 1956; pp. viii+145. $2.50.

EDMUND BURKE AND THE NATURAL LAW. By Peter J. Stanlis. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1958; pp. xv+311. $5.75.

A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS OF THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL. By Edmund Burke. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by J. T. Boulton. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul *and* New York: Columbia University Press, 1958; pp. cxxx+197. $5.00.

EDMUND BURKE. By T. E. Utley. (Writers and Their Work: No. 87.) London: Longmans, Green for The British Book Council and the National Book League, 1957; pp. 36. Two shillings.

REFLECTIONS ON THE REVOLUTION IN FRANCE. By Edmund Burke. Edited with an Introduction by Thomas H. D. Mahoney and an Analysis by Oskar Piest. (The Library of Liberal Arts, No. 46.) New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1955; pp. xliv+307. Paper $1.25, cloth $2.50.

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JAMES K. POLK: JACKSONIAN, 1795-1843. By Charles Grier Sellers, Jr. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957; pp. xiv+526. $7.50.

In 1844 the peak of Tom Corwin's campaign humor was to praise the qualifications of Whig presidential nominee Henry Clay, then dolefully ask his hearers, "And *who* have the Democrats nominated? One James K. Polk, of Tennessee. *After that*," he would conclude with pretended astonishment, "who is safe?" To taunt Polk as a nobody was proper enough in 1844, for his impact upon the American electorate had been small, though he had served seven terms in the House, two as speaker, and two terms as governor of Tennessee.

It is this early period of Polk's life, 1795-1843, that Charles Grier Sellers, Jr., undertakes to illuminate, for the present leaving the presidential period to Eugene I. McCormac's *James K. Polk: A Political Biography* (1922), though he joins those special "rehabilitationists," including Bernard De Voto, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., and Harry S. Truman, who now consider Polk "one of our strongest chief executives."

Out of "Old Mecklenburg," North Carolina, the Polks migrated to Tennessee, and it was to Chapel Hill that James K. Polk returned for a college education in 1816. There was shaped the mind of America's eleventh president. In his undergraduate days he developed an "excessively meticulous prose style that never left him," though it was highly acceptable to the Dialectic Society, which elected him to an unprecedented second term as president. His inaugural address on "Eloquence," full of "spread-eagle American patriotism," advised his brothers to avoid "looseness of preparation," and warned them against "too much attention paid to the elegance of language and too little to the ideas conveyed by it." Sellers credits the "Di Society" as a "school for statesmanship," giving Polk "splendid professional preparation for the political career on which he had set his heart."

In a scholarly and interesting book, as much a history of the times as a study in personality, the Princeton historian traces Polk's steady and patient pursuit of politics. "Young Hickory" is seen as an ambitious but reasonably consistent man, fusing religious principles with Jeffersonian dogmas and Jacksonian sentiments, and stump speaking his way to acceptance both by the "wool hat b'hoys" and the party managers. As a study of politics in a burgeoning democracy, this volume has strength and significance. Not the least of its virtues is an almost running commentary on the speaking of Polk, with considerations of his style and disposition, as well as his invention.

To his diary in 1834 John Quincy Adams confided that Polk had "no wit, no literature, no point of argument, no gracefulness of delivery, no elegance of language, no philosophy, no pathos, no felicitous impromptus; nothing that can constitute an orator, but confidence, fluency, and labor." A careful examination of Sellers' biography reveals no reason to alter this judgment of Polk the public speaker.

J. Jeffery Auer
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SELECTIONS FROM RALPH WALDO EMERSON. Edited by Stephen E. Whicher. (Riverside Editions A 13.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958; pp. xxvi+517. Paper $1.15.

"One gradually comes to realize," says Mr. Whicher of Emerson, "that all his work is like one great essay, whose subject is 'Man Thinking.' Or put it that he is essentially a journalist, an intellectual diarist, and that his essays and lectures take their place as an extension of his daily autobiography." This book is a persuasive illustration of that thesis. For

this is not just another collection of wise sayings or a new bookful of "representative" essays. It is a chronological arrangement of a judicious selection of letters, journal entries, essays, addresses, and an occasional poem, comprising a kind of internal biography, an intimate self-portrait of a great spirit. In addition, we are privileged to view people and events of the time through Emerson's perceptive eyes—his friends Thoreau and Alcott, his meeting with Lincoln, the fugitive slave law ("this filthy enactment . . ."), the coming of the Civil War ("Sometimes gunpowder smells good"). The essays, and particularly the Divinity School Address, are enriched by being set in chronological context. Excerpts from the journals reveal how deeply Emerson was affected by the violent reaction to that speech ("Steady, steady! When this fog of good and evil affections falls, it is hard to see and walk straight"), and also how he was able to reassure himself ("Let me never fall into the vulgar mistake of dreaming that I am persecuted, whenever I am contradicted").

Because of its arrangement, which permits the selections to illuminate and comment upon one another, this seems to me the best one-volume Emerson, not excluding even the excellent *Portable Emerson* compiled by Mark Van Doren.

BARNET BASKERVILLE
University of Washington

HOKE SMITH AND THE POLITICS OF THE NEW SOUTH. By Dewey W. Grantham, Jr. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1958; pp. 396. $5.00.

This is the latest in the Southern Biography Series now under the editorship of T. Harry Williams. Among the earlier volumes in the series is *Seargent S. Prentiss* by the late Dallas C. Dickey.

A highly successful lawyer who earned far more money out of public office than in, the vigorous publisher of the Atlanta *Journal*, a sponsor of vocational education first in Atlanta and then in the nation, Hoke Smith obviously had many talents. But if his first and last loves were the law, his all-demanding mistress through most of his adult life was politics.

Here was a would-be Southern liberal of "far greater promise than fulfillment," according to Dewey Grantham, professor of history at Vanderbilt University. "Hoke Smith wanted to be a reformer; the pity was that in his zeal to succeed in politics his vision often became distorted, and he was willing to use means that were unworthy of his ideals."

He fought the railroad rate and pass scandals, jumped aboard the Prohibition bandwagon in Georgia, and pushed white supremacy and Negro disfranchisement when it became politically expedient to do so. As governor of Georgia he abolished the convict-leasing system; as United States senator he fought to add important reservations to the League of Nations and helped kill Wilson's dream. But he emblazoned his name permanently on the nation's educational system in the Smith-Hughes Act.

Professor Grantham touches lightly but repeatedly on Hoke Smith's speaking. Though his appearances in court are hardly mentioned, there are frequent references to his Georgia political campaigns, as well as to his efforts in behalf of the Democratic Party in the East and Midwest. A regular Democrat, he spoke for Bryan and Wilson despite sharp differences with their policies. Accounts of Hoke Smith's speaking suggest the need for fuller study. For instance, a South Georgia newspaper described his speaking as unimpassioned: "It lacked bitterness except on occasional references to those who have been most bitter and unfair with him. It was not an attempt at fine oratory to carry the crowd by the spell of words, although the senator possesses this power, but a face-to-face, man-to-man discussion of affairs of importance to every citizen."

Students of Southern politics and oratory from 1870 to 1920 should note particularly the excellent "Critical Essay on Authorities" (pp. 372-377).

The LSU Press has done an excellent technical job: editing, illustration, and printing. Even the dust-jacket is attractive. The Vanderbilt Institute of Research and Training in the Social Sciences contributed a subsidy to assist in the publication of the volume.

GREGG PHIFER
Florida State University

THEY GATHERED AT THE RIVER: THE STORY OF THE GREAT REVIVALISTS AND THEIR IMPACT UPON RELIGION IN AMERICA. By Bernard A. Weisberger. Boston: Little, Brown, 1958; pp. xiv+345. $5.00.

Hard packed with racy quotations and sparked by a pungent, figurative style, *They Gathered at the River* comprises the most readable account to date of American religious fervor and the national figures who made revivals their chief if not sole aim in life. Professor Weisberger concentrates on the nine-

teenth and early twentieth centuries, but sets the stage for the Kentucky upheaval in 1800 by comparing it to the Great Awakening under Edwards and Whitefield. The story moves smoothly from the violent frontier struggles with predestination and free will through the ministrations of indefatigable Lyman Beecher and Charles Grandison Finney, the "catalytic agent" who reconciled the democratic gospel of the backwoods with the respectable, seminary-bred theology of the East. A somewhat rough transition introduces a truly brilliant description of Dwight L. Moody, the mild-mannered shoe salesman who put soul-saving on a business basis. Closing with the wild-pitching, earthy, gymnastic gyrations of Billy Sunday, the author ponders the future of mass revivalism, hesitant to ring down the curtain lest Billy Graham (never mentioned by name) or a disciple of Madison Avenue revitalize the old-time religion.

A weakness, nearly impossible to avoid in view of the author's avowed purpose to deal mainly with principals (a favor to the casual reader), appears in the gaps between the so-called peaks of evangelistic ardor. The breaks were not so great as they may seem, and they would assume more realistic proportions if more attention were focused on the "hundreds of professional evangelists" who gathered "with the saints" but never won national acclaim. These little men kept the fires burning, however, and paved the way for the spellbinders.

Eminently fair in his appraisal, though some may question a few generalizations, Professor Weisberger hides neither his admiration for the evangels nor his recognition of their social myopia. Both the conversion experience and the converter are spared the analyst's couch; and theological concepts receive only cursory treatment. Nevertheless, this scholarly, well-documented history will prove invaluable to students of revivalistic rhetoric.

PAUL H. BOASE
Oberlin College

THE POETRY OF GREEK TRAGEDY. By Richmond Lattimore. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958; pp. 157. $3.50.

"Plays do not merely enact and instruct; they make us see what is not there." If Richmond Lattimore were a theorist, this would probably be his theory of drama. But he is first a poet and next a scholar-critic, and he prefers to look at each play as an individual thing. He wishes both to get at the essential poetry of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides and to show how the poetry functions in their work. This he does with authority and grace.

In general Mr. Lattimore demonstrates that Aeschylus's poetry enlarges his play—is, indeed, almost the whole tragedy. Sophocles arranges rational action and supernatural mystery in a kind of counterpoint, the action frequently drawing on fifth-century rhetoric, as in Creon's reasoned appeal to probability in *Oedipus the King*. Euripides uses poetry mainly as an escape from horror, though sometimes, as in *Hippolytus*, the action is itself fundamentally poetic.

Almost every page opens a fresh vista upon the tragic landscape. In Lattimore's translation, for example, Ajax begins his death-speech: "The butcher stands there where he can cut most deep." Compare R. C. Trevelyan:

> The slayer stands so that his edge may cleave
> Most surely.—

Lattimore's main point would be that the sword of Ajax is not so much a dignified weapon as flesh-ripping steel which recalls the earlier butcheries of the distracted hero. The word *sphageus* is both "slayer" and "butcher" in Liddell and Scott, who cite this passage; but the more traditional translation of such words has a way of prettying up the scene, as if to make it more classical. One of Lattimore's services is in showing us the many-sidedness of the Greeks, whose vision is as often searing as it is serene.

The *Ajax* is one of two plays receiving extended study. Lattimore's excellent analysis differs from the expected on two major issues. He holds (1) that despite the playwright's references to *hybris*, Ajax is not destroyed by this standard tragic flaw; the references can be justified only as a dramatic convenience. (2) Although Ajax dies magnificently, he has learned nothing. (No *pathei mathos*.) The argument for the first point is cogent, but I find it difficult to accept the second. If Ajax has learned nothing else, he has at least learned to be thoughtful. The action has done this much for him.

WILLIAM G. MCCOLLOM
Western Reserve University

THE MEDIEVAL THEATRE IN THE ROUND: A STUDY OF THE STAGING OF *THE CASTLE OF PERSEVERANCE* AND RELATED MATTERS. By Richard Southern. London: Faber and Faber, 1957; New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1958; pp. xviii+240. $8.50.

A FOURTEENTH-CENTURY PROMPT BOOK: PHILIPPE DE MÉZIÈRES' *FESTUM PRAESENTATIONIS BEATAE MARIAE*. By Albert B. Weiner. New Haven: Andrew Kner, 1958; pp. 85. $3.50.

"The study of the theatre," according to Richard Southern, "has been too often restricted to the examination of ideas in the head. To picture them on paper, or to analyse pictorial evidence about them, is a valuable corrective that is too frequently overlooked—and even sometimes pronounced bad scholarship." Had *The Medieval Theatre in the Round* been honestly crafted in the foregoing terms, the charge of bad scholarship could not be made against it; but as its author has here approached his subject of medieval stagecraft largely in accordance with a twentieth-century rationale of production, the cautious reader must needs object to many of his major conclusions.

By a minute examination of the extant stage-plan and dramatic text of *The Castle of Perseverance*, Southern offers to reconstruct a fifteenth-century performance of this play: "With some care certain interpretations can be made with confidence and others with a little more temerity." The author reproduces the plan, indicating five peripheral scaffolds outside the two circles, on page 18; by page 19 he has already committed us to "the ditch of water" and is prepared to argue that the five scaffolds *and the audience* were situated within this ditch. He believes that the *Castle* was "to some extent a professional show, as against the amateur, single performances by trade guilds"—thus, he reasons, "the audience was within the ditch . . . to prevent unauthorized persons from getting in to see the show."

The ditch evolved from this slender speculation measures 10 feet wide by 5 feet deep, with a 110-foot diameter; and, though Southern does not state the fact explicitly, the digging of it would have meant removal of over 20,000 cubic feet of earth, and filling it would have required nearly 150,000 gallons of water. While one is not troubled by his confession that "I am familiar neither with the relation between man-power and earthwork construction, nor with labour-costs in the Middle Ages," his corollary statement that "this ditch was in fact (on some occasions at least) dug" is pretty jarring. But there is no turning back. In order to go along with the rest of his elaborate theory of professional production, one must accept his monumental earth-removal and water-hauling scheme.

It is less Southern's "temerity," however, than his methodology which mars this enterprise. The author either is ignorant of, or else suppresses, Victor E. Albright's graphic reconstruction (1909) of the Digby *Mary Magdalene*; and though he complains that Chambers' *The Mediaeval Stage* "contains only two diagrams" and is thus "confusing," he ignores the limited but useful evidence these diagrams afford—and makes no mention whatever of the illuminating Lucerne drawings. For his own arena-stage arrangement, he draws crucially upon Carew's description of a *Plen Guary*, upon Scawen's theatre "to contain Thousands," and upon Borlase's drawing of the Cornish Round at St. Just; and in behalf of remarks concerning "a paying audience," he unhesitatingly cites such modern examples as Vilar's Théâtre National Populaire, Okhlopkov's Realistic Theatre (Moscow), and Albert Hall, London. His consideration of *Castle's* scaffolds, similarly, is anticipated by pointed references to the *Térence des Ducs* miniature (*c.* 1400) and immediately, strategically preceded by a chapter in which a closely reasoned study—in its own right, superb—is made of the scaffolds of the problematical Fouquet miniature (*c.* 1455). The chapter somewhat self-consciously entitled "On the Dynamics of the Place-Crowd and on the Stytelervs" is full of clever writing, but innocent of much current and relevant Continental data respecting the conduct and discipline of medieval audiences. The method is one of specious (albeit eloquent) syncretism, not of sound scholarship.

Notwithstanding its forbidding cost and such *caveats* as the above, however, *The Medieval Theatre in the Round* seems assured of a wide readership in this country. Southern's style is compelling, his subject here seems fresh and vital as seldom before, his reconstruction is above all things imaginative—but he has put rhetoric above research. Ultimately, this single comprehensive failing cannot but outweigh every one of the author's positive achievements.

Albert Weiner's carefully wrought translation of Philippe de Mézières' *Festum Praesentationis Beatae Mariae Virginis in Templo*, handsomely illustrated and introduced by an essay on "The Birth of Modern Acting," deserves hearty commendation. The *Festum* text, "a veritable 14th-century prompt book . . . the best, the most lucid and descriptive one ever to come out of the Middle Ages," was discovered early in this century in the Bibliothèque Nationale and published in 1911 by Karl Young; but the present is the first full-length study of it (and the only English translation)

yet to appear. It is the detailed production record of a liturgical play presented intermittently throughout Western Europe on the Feast of the Presentation of the Virgin from November 21, 1372, until well into the first quarter of the fifteenth century. With evident authority, Weiner terms it "the most important document on medieval Church *mise en scène* known to exist."

The translator-editor's modest introductory essay by-passes the subject of liturgical *mise en scène*, however ("because of much diligent scholarship there are few secrets that it holds"), in favor of medieval audiences and acting. Audiences which attended the *Festum* "did not sit or stand patiently in the church watching the production silently," Weiner stresses; "the necessity for the 'strong young men' is proof enough that the actors were constantly crowded, apparently on all sides." He initiates a perceptive, wide-ranging discussion of medieval acting (scrupulously documented, incidentally) with a paradox: "The drama was born before actors or acting existed. Yet the drama was born traditionless; while actors, when they finally appeared, drew on an acting tradition centuries old." And he exercises congenial command of this subject to the end.

Weiner has provided Latin glosses for uncertain portions of the *Festum* manuscript and has contributed a handful of helpful annotations. Interestingly, the unglossed words *"in loco eminenti"* (placement of the second platform) are rendered "in a conspicuous place"; Chambers' *The Mediaeval Stage* had supplied "in a raised spot" for an almost identical phrase in the Norman-French *Mystère d'Adam*. By his more conservative approach here, as throughout the *Festum* translation, Weiner will earn both the respect and trust of all who read and use this book.

PAT M. RYAN, JR.
Yale University

BEST AMERICAN PLAYS. FOURTH SERIES —1951-1957. Edited with an Introduction by John Gassner. New York: Crown Publishers, 1958; pp. xxi+648. $5.75.

BROADWAY'S BEST: 1957. THE COMPLETE RECORD OF THE THEATRICAL YEAR. By John Chapman. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1957; pp. 329. $4.50.

With this fifth in the *Best American Plays* series edited and introduced by John Gassner, the collection reaches an impressive 96 plays. If translations and adaptations by S. N. Behrman, Sidney Howard, *et. al.*, in the companion volume, *20 Best European Plays on the American Stage*, were included, the reckoning would exceed 100. Professor Gassner wittily observes, "The inescapable thought that the quantitative record is no measure of the qualitative one need not intimidate us. It need only chasten us." With rising printing costs, however, the present volume—numbering 50 fewer pages—retails at $1.25 more than the former published in 1952. Whatever price we might anticipate in 1963, and chastened or intimidated though we may be, the series provides the outstanding collection of representative American plays, 1916-1957.

We are fortunate that a critic of Gassner's magnitude has turned to the current American scene, for he brings to his work sanity, prudence, forethought, grace. Deliberate yet supple in play selection, accurate and thorough in textual preparation, trenchant yet generous in criticism, Professor Gassner treads with remarkable equipoise the proverbial limb every five years or so. Though we find dramatic turkeys roosting here and there, we should temper our cut in the knowledge that Gassner is well aware of their presence. In the current Introduction, he sets forth his dual role as editor: "to reflect the trade as well as the art if he is to render a true report."

With customary skill he has selected the following plays: *The Rose Tattoo; Cat on a Hot Tin Roof; The Crucible; A View from the Bridge; Picnic; Bus Stop; A Moon for the Misbegotten; The Matchmaker; I Am a Camera; The Solid Gold Cadillac; Tea and Sympathy; No Time for Sergeants; A Hatful of Rain; The Fourposter; The Caine Mutiny Court-Martial; The Seven Year Itch; Inherit the Wind.* Special features include the amplified version of *A View from the Bridge* and Williams' original last act for *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof* added to the Broadway version. Inge's original ending for *Picnic*, currently in a state of revision, should be compared with Broadway's version included in this volume—if only to determine the relative fingers engaged (playwright's and/or director's) in serving up current Broadway fare. "A Selective Bibliography" and "A Supplementary List of Plays" conclude the book.

Unfortunately, Mr. Gassner was unable to obtain clearances for *Long Day's Journey Into Night, The Diary of Anne Frank, The Teahouse of the August Moon*, and *The Flowering Peach*. But in place of the selected *Seven Year Itch* and *Solid Gold Cadillac*, I would prefer *Career, King of Hearts, Mrs. McThing, The Desk Set*, or *The Rainmaker*. But this is quibbling—the maximum difference between

the flyweight and the bantam is six pounds—for Professor Gassner has included the heavy with Wilder's *The Matchmaker*. If the Introduction at times seems general, somewhat vague and peripheral, the reader should turn to Gassner's quarterly assessments, "Broadway In Review," in the *Educational Theatre Journal*. Given time, space, and selective audiences, Gassner envelops and amplifies—often exchanging boxing gloves for rapier—with customary proportion, restraint, digression.

Whatever the status of American theatre, drama, and the dollar in 1963, the reader may be assured that, with John Gassner as editor, *Best American Plays—1957-1962* will be prudently selected, carefully prepared, and judiciously evaluated.

With *Broadway's Best, 1957*, John Chapman, drama critic for the New York *News*, surveys the 1956-1957 season. One section includes "statistics" on each Broadway play: opening and closing dates, runs, casts, short plot summaries. The second section, "Best of Broadway," presents individual summaries (ten or more pages of plot, act by act) of twelve productions, each play preceded by two or three pages of memorabilia, comments, or quotations by opening-night critics. The remainder of the volume provides a seasonal view, monthly record, Off Broadway productions, new productions, long runs, holdovers, prize plays, theatre books, and obituaries for 1956-1957.

Mr. Chapman's book unquestionably has value as a seasonal record. The extensive plot summaries may prove of some importance, since now and again a sense of reportorial immediacy directs our attention to the play as presented. But as discerning criticism of the 1956-1957 season, *Broadway's Best* rarely moves beyond opening-night opinions. Clichés ("crux of the problem" or "artistic force in the theatre") dominate vigorous phrases ("the actor's lemming-like instinct to crawl on a stage"). Readable, pleasant, written in snappish, cursive style, *Broadway's Best* displays flashes of laconic wit coupled with salty veneration for theatre.

EUGENE K. BRISTOW
Indiana University

CREATIVE DRAMATICS: AN ART FOR CHILDREN. By Geraldine Brain Siks. New York: Harper, 1958; pp. xxiv+472. $4.50.

Members of the children's theatre profession will find in this textbook much ammunition for arguments on behalf of their cause. They will no doubt remember, and often quote, Mrs. Siks' belief that experiences in creative dramatics "are based on the very stuff of life with both its beauties and its conflicts. . . . [They] lead children toward an understanding of life which in a large sense squares with reality" (p. 121).

In a field where the gap between theory and practice is an especially difficult one to bridge in print, Mrs. Siks does a first-rate job. Chapters seven through nine give precise, step-by-step directions for the leadership of creative dramatics activities with children aged, respectively, four through six, seven and eight, and nine through eleven. Methods of focusing group thinking on particular goals such as rhythmic movement, pantomime, characterization, dialogue, teamwork, and conflict will be especially helpful to the beginning leader. These are followed up with stenographic accounts and many on-the-spot photographs of actual demonstration sessions with children. Descriptions of classroom experiences in which creative dramatics has been correlated with social studies, language arts, and music are included as are lists of poetry, songs, stories, and ideas from which creative projects have been developed.

If there are ineffective sections, the aforementioned difficulty is to blame. As the above quotation implies, certain strengths are inherent in all creative dramatics experiences, but it is precisely these strengths which least often are communicated to the reader. Mrs. Siks obviously knows that in order to keep group interest high, the creative dramatics leader seeks not merely for the "beautiful" situation, but for that which is dramatically powerful; not merely for the "lovely" idea, but for that which is inevitably right. If she had suggested this more often, her book might have given a truer insight into what makes its author's own approach to this "art for children" such a strong one.

As it is, any adult who works with young people will find here an invaluable foundation for the sharing of a highly personal art.

ROBERT CHAMBERS
San Diego Junior Theatre

CONTEMPORARY LITERARY SCHOLARSHIP. Edited by Lewis Leary for The Committee on Literary Scholarship and the Teaching of English of the National Council of Teachers of English. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1958; pp. x+474. $5.00.

This book is a collection of eighteen papers by as many literary specialists addressed, roughly, "to the teacher of English in high

school or college who is of necessity so involved in other things that he is unable to keep up with trends and achievements in scholarship." The plan of the book, according to its editor, "is briefly this: to provide an informal discussion of trends and specific achievements in the study of literature during the past thirty years; to present a useful guide for teachers through areas which their own specialization or their absorption in other duties have not allowed them to roam as often as they have wished; and to underline the ancient axiom that neither pedagogical method nor enthusiasm can effectively replace knowledge of the subject to be taught."

Considered as a copiously annotated selective bibliography of literary scholarship and criticism since 1930, certainly the book should be placed in every college and university library, and oral interpreters can surely find a number of useful suggestions among the many "teaching tips" sprinkled throughout the discussions. Of special value to the interpreter will be Patrick Hazard's paper, "The Public Arts and the Private Sensibility," if only for its list of sources of much audio-visual material which may be of use in the classroom.

Considered as discussion, by experts in the various periods and genres, of some central problems and issues in their separate fields, the book has less certain values. Readers who enjoy most that book which incites them to their own speculations will, I fear, find themselves seldom roused by this volume. Occasionally a point of view is stated with force sufficient to compel the reader's attention to it. When, for example, R. W. B. Lewis refers to a certain modern critic (who, whatever his originality, habitually develops his ideas with loose argument and a haughty manner) as "one of the handsomest stylists in America," some readers are likely to consider again the criteria of good style. Again, the reader's imagination may ripple occasionally over a spare piece of information, as when the same Professor Lewis informs us that in Paris one can look up "men of letters" in the classified section of telephone directories. But, by and large, the authors of these essays do not so much think about their subjects as plod conscientiously on through the lists of books in which relevant thought may be found.

In all fairness, I think we must recognize that it could hardly be otherwise. The authors, generally, are men known for their original contributions to scholarship, but most of them doubtless could only respond to their assignment here with muffled voices. The literary scholar committed to an objective summary of significant work in his field during the past quarter of a century can hardly be expected to make himself felt as a man of thought, whose chief task, probably, is to strain out of those rivers of type flowing through his head some few significant oddments which it lies in his power to order into new sense. Consequently, this book frequently enough will impress the reader as a suggestion for the scholarly use, at some future date, of an electronics machine cunning enough to interpret the universe. At the same time, the book suggests to the mere human critic, who must make what he can of that diminished thing which is one man's rather than Univac's possession in knowledge, what material in a given area he is obliged to read before he gains fully the right to resist it.

DON GEIGER
University of California, Berkeley

CONTEXTS OF CRITICISM. By Harry Levin. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957; pp. xvi+294. $5.00.

The sixteen occasional essays in this collection range from the more general "problems of definition, formulation, and method," to the more particular "analyses of style, structure and technique." This double concern allows Levin what he calls "a contextual approach," one which, "since it centers upon the exact relation between form and meaning, constantly looks in both directions and then turns back to the immediate intersection." Not only the text itself but the artistic practices and human experiences which help to explain it, are Levin's domain.

His ambitious pursuit leads him into three areas which he labels "Working Definitions," "Notations on Novelists," and "Long Views." From speculations on "New Frontiers in the Humanities" and "Art as Knowledge," he presents in brief the historical development of the ideas of the Classical, Tradition, and Realism. From an explanation of Cervantes' contribution to modern fiction to a discussion of the ways in which *Don Quixote* and *Moby Dick* shed light on one another, he goes to a comparison of Balzac and Proust, an explanation of French and Italian influences on Joyce, and an analysis of Hemingway's style. And finally, from an analysis of the effects of social changes on the nature of the novel, and a debunking of the current fetish for symbolism in fiction, he traces the process by which English poetry has assimilated foreign words, rhythms

and images, the attitudes of English, French, and Russian critics toward American fiction, and the changes in perspective and goals which criticism has undergone since the nineteenth century.

The book is remarkable for its erudition and objectivity. Combining scholarship and critical insight, Levin provides an example of the amalgam needed to offset the undue emphasis placed on either in our time. His espousal of linguistics as a tool of criticism is dramatically supported by his own effective use of the same. In Hemingway's style he shows us a key to the man's attitude toward the world of men and things, his sense of morality, his personality, and his achievement as a novelist. Moreover, here as in his comparison of Balzac and Proust he maintains a sense of balance indispensable to one charged with evaluating as well as interpreting. He sees in Hemingway and Proust limitations as well as strengths, an objectivity rare in a time when the fetish for introspective, self-pitying, plotless, associational writing has blinded many critics.

IRVING DEER
State Normal College
Ellendale, North Dakota

A COURSE IN MODERN LINGUISTICS. By Charles F. Hockett. New York: Macmillan, 1958; pp. xiv+621. $7.50.

I have not read this book word for word. That task is for the specialist in linguistics and the advanced student of languages. Instead, it has been my pleasure to read those chapters and sections that seem to me to be most useful to the teacher of speech and the general reader. Persons in these groups continually need to know what scientists and scholars in linguistics can tell them about the theories and skills of writing and speaking.

The author is a professor of linguistics and anthropology at Cornell. He says he has in mind the student of the introductory course in linguistics; he warns the general reader not to expect a "popularization." Accordingly, in some 600-odd pages we find substantial treatment of such technical matters as phonemes, morphemes, morphophonemics, phylogeny, and glottochronology.

But for teachers of public speaking and English composition, speech correctionists, and ordinary makers of speeches there are scores of pages of interest and value. These cover, to name a few, discussions of such topics as colloquial style, excellence of speech, intonation, meaning, organs of speech, pronunciation, speaking and languages, words, writing, and writing style of a language.

Throughout the book Professor Hockett manages to keep the beginning student in mind. He writes well and makes his subject seem useful rather than academic and abstruse. Each chapter is followed by a set of notes containing leading references to technical studies. The appendix of Language—Names and the Bibliography (18 pp.) are valuable additions.

Teachers who are anxious to learn about newer developments in phonetics will want to read this chapter and those that follow. They contain on every page explanations of the reasons why foreign students have difficulties with English speech sounds.

An unusual feature of this textbook is the writer's penchant for the epigrammatic. Here are a few examples taken out of context:

> Man does not live by bread alone: his other necessity is communication. (p. 585)

> As with most easy generalizations, the truth is more complicated. (p. 549)

> Regularity is a matter of degree. (p. 280)

> In theory, and largely in practice, idioms are the stuff of which dictionaries are made. (p. 173)

The student of persuasion will find insights in *A Course in Modern Linguistics* to the mysteries of why some words "work" and some words fail. Anyone who thinks, however, that language as a tool is easy, consistent, logical, or neatly packaged is going to have to do more homework. It is indeed a miracle in the practice of speaking and writing that intended meaning emerges at all when one considers the traps and complexities of the processes of communication.

H. F. HARDING
The Ohio State University

THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN ENGLISH. By W. Nelson Francis. With a chapter on American English Dialects by Raven I. McDavid, Jr. New York: Ronald Press, 1958; pp. viii+614. $6.50.

The time is ripe for books like this, done by writers of textbooks, designed to transmute the obscurantist lore of recent revolutionary linguistic investigation into marketable stuff for the classroom. I fancy that when Francis' book gets to be compared with half a dozen others of the same kind it will still, as it does now, look pretty good.

The chapter on phonetics, 68 pages, is better than many expositions of greater length. Of course the anatomy and physiology is inadequate and shaky, the nomenclature eccentric, the symbolization eclectic and sometimes idiosyncratic, the specification of detail inconsistent. The phonetic point of view is, however, generally maintained and the phonetic transcription of "Grip, the Rat" is one of the best, even if, as so unfortunately usual, based on the author's reading. Now and then the point of view gets lost, e.g. "One *flap* is of common occurrence . . . as a substitute for [t] between vowels. . . . The problem for the phonetician is whether to represent the sound as a true flap, . . . as a somewhat more lax (lenis) variety of [t], . . . as a slightly voiced [t], . . . or as a true [d]." As though phonetics could recognize the notion of substitution, or this problem could be one of representation rather than one of finding out what the sound is, or a true [d] could be an untrue flap.

The chapter on phonemics is also rather better than the average textbook treatment of the subject, and suffers from the usual confusion of phonetics and phonemics. In the phonemic text of "Grip, the Rat" the diacritical detail of phonetic transcription is properly left out, but much of the rest of the phonemicization is merely different symbolization and coverage. It consists of using different vowel symbols and [y] rather than [j] (with a quite silly justification), of using Trager-Smith accent marks instead of adapted IPA marks for exactly the same discriminations in stress, of putting in plusses rather than spaces to mark the division into something better than word units, of including intonation, with # at roughly sentence end rather than at close of passage only.

The next part of the book deals with what may be more profoundly, if less obviously, the concern of readers of *QJS*. The chapters on morphemics, the parts of speech, syntactic structures, and sentences are much like those on phonetics and phonemics in selecting a lot of good stuff and a little bad, and coming out with a pretty high average. Perhaps most important for us, something we—teachers of speech—have got to get to in one form or another, is the graphic device for displaying syntactic structures, the exact form of which I have not seen before. It is too cumbersome to last long as a working scheme; but as done for us it is marvelously clarifying.

The chapter on graphics and that on linguistics and the teacher of English have less back of them and little to offer; the treatment is tenuous and the style more debased than elsewhere. The chapter on the dialects of American English is done by a man who knows, interesting and not routine; as for its relation to the rest of the book, only a publisher could explain why it is included.

The book is not, of course, one to be widely adopted as a textbook for courses in speech. It is one to be widely read by teachers of such courses. This recommendation is not to be taken as qualified by the cautionary tone of much of the detailed criticism above, unbalanced because of our lamentable limitation of review space.

LEE S. HULTZÉN
University of Edinburgh

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHONETICS OF AMERICAN ENGLISH. By Charles Kenneth Thomas. (Second Edition.) New York: Ronald Press, 1958; pp. x+273. $4.50.

The second edition of *The Phonetics of American English* demonstrates the author's mature scholarship, teaching skill, accumulated knowledge, ripened judgement, coverage of phonetic history, and awareness of phonemics, descriptive linguistics, and linguistic geography. It is remarkably complete, considering its compression. It reflects the author's recording of 14,000 American speakers, and employs his tested method of introducing already familiar symbols and adding others progressively. It treats speech mechanisms, length and stress, sound change, speech regions, and (courageously) pronunciation standards. It has few typographical errors.

Exercises for transcription are sparse. After the first 16 symbols, there is a list of some 32 words—only approximately 100 lines of transcription altogether. Teachers will wish to supplement these.

Supported by Hans Kurath's *Word Geography of the Eastern States* (a lexical, non-phonetic book), the author has elected to break the General American area (the U. S. minus the South and—approximately—New England), into parts, stating that an important degree of uniformity among the parts "simply does not exist." Many will postulate that the elementary student will profit more from a view of the whole *and* its parts, than of the parts alone.

A word may be ventured on the criteria for establishing isoglosses of sufficient magnitude to delimit major speech areas. Any criterion so selected should be of very high frequency. The post-vocalic [r], together with its omission or

its displacement by [ɔ], is such a criterion, and any isogloss based upon it is of great magnitude, with a valence far stronger than that, say, established by comparing the various pronunciations of *donkey*. Any isogloss based on a large class of words is more significant than one based on a single word or small group. Linguistic cartographers will in time consider these differentials of magnitude.

The many students of its author will welcome this excellent book, as will teachers and students everywhere.

C. M. WISE
Louisiana State University

VOICE AND ARTICULATION. By Charles Van Riper and John V. Irwin. Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1958; pp. xviii+566. $6.95.

This book is an excellent addition to the speech pathologist's library. In all probability it will serve an even greater purpose as a source and reference book for the public-school speech therapist who needs one source which combines and presents this material in an understandable manner.

This volume attempts the above purpose. Steeped in the language of servo-mechanisms and automatic regulating systems, the book makes these concepts workable, explaining clearly and simply how information theory can be applied to a group of five or six articulation cases meeting for one half hour in the basement of a school building.

The book is composed of fifteen chapters. Chapters one to six deal with articulation problems: etiology, symptomology, prognosis, therapy; chapters seven to nine consider voice problems from the same standpoints.

With chapter ten the title of the book becomes misleading since the concluding chapters do not deal directly with voice and articulation. Three deal with the anatomy and physiology of respiration, articulation, and phonation, and two attempt some explanation of acoustics and architectural acoustics.

The first three of these supplementary chapters serve a decided purpose. Apparently the authors feel that the processes of voice and articulation, and hence the mal-processes, cannot be properly understood without consideration of the anatomy and physiology which make them possible—a viewpoint of considerable merit. But the chapter on acoustics treats the subject in typical fashion, considering much material, but providing so cursory an inspection of each segment that it seems vague and difficult to understand. This is not a criticism directed specifically toward this particular volume. The explanations of acoustic data which are understood by speech therapy students have not been written by speech therapists, nor by physicists, but by musicians.

The last chapter, dealing with architectural acoustics, is simply and clearly written in language understood by students. One could perhaps defend the position that such a chapter does not belong in this volume; but there are few sources available to therapy students which consider such material. There are also some practical suggestions for sound conditioning a therapy room or classroom.

One of the best aspects of the book is the use made of the references listed in the bibliography. These references have been infused throughout the chapter materials so that a reader gets both pro-and-con experimental results on every technique or subject considered.

RICHARD A. HOOPS
Ball State Teachers College

TELEVISION EFFECTS: A SUMMARY OF THE LITERATURE AND PROPOSED GENERAL THEORY. By Lionel C. Barrow, Jr., and Bruce H. Westley. Madison: University of Wisconsin Television Laboratory, 1958; pp. 184. $1.00.

THE PERCEIVED APPEALS OF TELEVISION PROGRAM CONTENT. By Richard F. Carter. Madison: University of Wisconsin Television Laboratory, 1957; pp. vi+178. $1.00.

The first volume is the result of one of five proposals for research in educational television made by the University of Wisconsin Television Laboratory to the Educational Television and Radio Center in Ann Arbor, Michigan. It attempts to set up a more basic theory of significant factors in the "effectiveness" of educational television production techniques. This theory is based on an analysis and evaluation of previous studies of production techniques in television and motion picture films.

The book is broken down into three parts: a review of the relevant empirical and theoretical literature; a statement of the concepts and hypotheses of the new theory; and an appendix containing summaries of the seven television and thirty-four film studies used as a basis for the theory. Naturally, the work is of most interest to the faculty research man and directors of graduate research in television and motion picture film.

The new theory developed in the study states that effectiveness of communication depends on coping with interferences which distract attention and interferences that mask messages. The communicator copes with these problems by increasing the attention-getting quality and the understandability of the message. Indeed, the concepts and hypotheses set down provoke a need to test their reliability, but they also create a challenge to lay open the under-explored areas of television production methods involving performance, use of graphic arts, staging, and arrangement of program content.

As the author points out in the foreword of the second volume, "There is something here for everyone with an interest in television." That "everyone" includes the commercial and educational television producer and the researcher.

This is a careful and discerning report of a study conducted by the University of Wisconsin Television Laboratory in Stoughton, Wisconsin, during January and February of 1955. It concerns itself with the appeals seen in television content by prospective viewers. The purpose of the study was to learn more about the interaction of content and audience. Reaction of the audience to content was measured by the attraction which various program types had, as perceived by the people interviewed in the sample.

One significant result which could have immediate utility for program planners indicated that certain program content types have the same appeal and might well be consecutively scheduled to sustain an audience. However, Mr. Carter expresses the feeling that the study's immediate findings are not nearly so important as its promise of future utility. The results of the report suggest areas of future research such as: (1) the coordination of "factors of appeal" with concepts like group membership, attitudes, and personality characteristics; and (2) the formation of hypotheses based on the derived factors in terms of replication in different media content areas or for different audiences.

One weakness of the report is the language in which it is written. The person who is not fully research-oriented will find difficulty in comprehending sections dealing with methodology, analysis, and even the final chapter containing the summary and conclusions.

JAMES LYNCH
Indiana University

BASIC PRINCIPLES OF SPEECH. By Lew Sarett, William Trufant Foster, and Alma Johnson Sarett. (Third Edition.) Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958; pp. xii+601. $5.25.

Sarett and Foster's *Basic Principles of Speech* has been a best seller among speech textbooks for over twenty years. The third edition, recently compiled by Mrs. Sarett, should guarantee its continuing popularity. Based largely on the plans of her late husband, Mrs. Sarett's edition is a timely, skillful, and thoroughgoing revision. One-third of the subject matter is new, including Chapters I and III and half of the oral reading selections; the remaining two-thirds have been ably reorganized. Gone are the chapters on radio speaking and the puzzling delivery-composition dichotomy. Still each printed page remains meaningful and fluent as before.

A new introductory chapter and the reformulation of basic speech principles add clarity and breadth to the text's philosophy of speech. Both Chapters I and III incidentally demonstrate the influence of general semantics upon Mrs. Sarett's thinking. Audience adaptation, listening, style, and end-of-chapter assignments receive especially strong treatment. Public speaking, discussion, and oral reading appear here as parts of a communication continuum rather than as separate entities.

Here is a book students will find exciting to read, meaty in content, and sensible in organization—a work not likely to be surpassed in this or any year.

GOODWIN F. BERQUIST, JR.
The Ohio State University

SHOP TALK

RICHARD MURPHY, *Editor*

On Being Doctored

Through the years, ST—A.B., A.M., Ph.D.—has not given much thought to titles, degrees, and such. Of course he always observes the social amenities, and wouldn't think of writing to a grand mufti in any form other than "His Eminence, the Grand Mufti of . . . ," with a signature of "Believe me, my dear Grand Mufti. . . ." But he never has paid much attention to the caste system of graduate-assistant-to-full-professor so far as address goes, and never has saluted anyone as "doctor" unless he could set a bone and deliver a baby.

This peculiar mental set comes, no doubt, from the environment of his undergraduate days. In ST's formative years, H. L. Mencken, in *The American Mercury,* was inveighing against all kinds of rotarianism. "The learned doctor X says," HL would note in printing some specimen of boobery in his "Americana." To be further insulting, he would pile on degrees at the end of the name, the more outrageous the clipping, the more the degrees. Of course HLM was not the first to use *doctor* in scorn. As the story goes (Froude, *Reign of Elizabeth,* II, 10), Queen Elizabeth I was so angered by a bishop's remark that she and her sister were bastards, that she turned on the bishops' bench in Parliament and addressed them as "you *doctors.*" It was cruel, but then "she rarely lost an opportunity of affronting and insulting her bishops."

And so ST went on his merry way, noting that A. Lincoln was and is Mr. Lincoln, despite an LL.D. from Knox in 1860 and from Princeton in 1864. In preconceived and prejudiced view, ST failed to note that Dr. Franklin is Dr. Franklin, and rightly so (LL.D., St. Andrews, 1759; D.C.L., Oxford, 1762, etc.). He delighted in stories such as the one about the professor who was refused a Ph.D. degree because he submitted his dissertation on wrapping paper. Rather amusing, too, that the father of medicine was addressed by Socrates as "O, Hippocrates," rather than as Dr. Hippocrates (*Protagoras,* 311B).

Then he began to notice the new deference for the title. Atomic scientists, who a year or so ago would have been presented as misters on public affairs radio and TV programs, now were saluted as doctors, in the best herr professor manner. In came a letter from an old friend, done in best typist format, signed John Doe, Ph.D., with the more familiar "Mike" scrawled across the signature. At a committee meeting of members of various departments, the amount of doctoring suggested a post mortem in the amphitheatre at the medical school. The students, too, seemed to have joined the movement. The number of "Hi, doctor"s one hears in hall and office seems colossal.

Then ST began to note discussion of the matter. His favorite advisor to the lovelorn, Ann Landers, received a request for a ruling on Ph.D's being doctored on purely social occasions. Although ordinarily frank and forthright, the arbiter ducked the question: "many Ph.D.'s do not use the "Dr." socially, but many do; this is purely a matter of

choice" (April 11, 1958). Several months later, along came an article titled "Call Me Doctor" (*The Educational Record*, July). The author doctor, Harold Seymour, who teaches history at Finch College, argues that the Ph.D. "should use the title 'Doctor' at every appropriate opportunity." According to his logic, Ph.De-er's are entirely too humble about their honor of having the highest possible earned degree. As for reserving the doctor for medics, Dr. Seymour argues the title really means "teacher." The M.D. was originally a B.M., and the quality of the preparatory work today is about that, roughly equivalent to B.L. or B.D. Emily Post's dictum that M.D.'s may use doctor on calling cards, but Ph.D.'s may not, he regards as socially unsound. *Time* (July 28, p. 47) picked up the story, noting that the author was undoctored in the byline. Here, there, everywhere he looked, ST saw the doctor problem. In the November election, two candidates in his district ran as doctors on the ballot, although one was a vet and the other a dentist.

ST decided to do the thing scientifically. For a week, when the mail was running high, he tallied the forms of addresses on envelopes he received from various parts of the country. This was the result:

Prof.	38%
Dr.	29
Mr.	23
Name only	10

According to this, the public image of ST was that of professor. But how representative was this? To discover what actual practice is, he selected at random a large, midwestern speech department, in which he just happened to know all the secretaries. He asked them to count mail for a week, as it was addressed to the headman in each area, all of whom are Ph.D.'s, professors, etc., and entitled to be addressed in various ways. Here are the results:

	Doctor		Professor		Mr., Miss		Name Only	
	•C	•U.S.	C.	U.S.	C.	U.S.	C.	U.S.
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Department Head	21	13	64	75	1	8	14	4
Theatre	0	19	40	19	10	50	50	12
Speech Laboratory	11	22	78	12	0	22	11	44
Speech Clinic	21	53	37	0	35.5	47	6.5	0
Hearing Center	22	72	1	0	50	14	27	14

•C = Campus mail; •U.S. = U.S. Mail

The trend again seemed to be toward "professor." ST had now thrown off his cultural predispositions and was thinking in the mood of the era, quantitatively. What of the whole country? A larger sample would do it. He got out 300 random sample questionnaires to every state in the union, a bit reluctantly, suspecting others might not share his interest in a minor academic exercise. Instead, the response was quick, generous (54% and still coming in), definite, but not definitive. One man scrawled, "We don't pay any attention to such trivia down here," across the survey sheet, and then wrote a page report, single space, on all the details of the matter. Another sent a full list of forms, how he likes to be addressed, how he addresses others, answers the telephone, etc. Custom seems to vary. Miss Kramer at Teachers College, Columbia, and Mr. Haberman at Wisconsin, don't find much doctoring, and prefer it that way. Dr. Braden at Louisi-

ana and Professor John P. Hoshor, Ph.D., at Hawaii, report much doctoring, and rather like it.

Not satisfied with answering the survey sheet, many wrote short opinions, or sent letters, especially concerning the higher significance of the highest degree. E. W. Harrington of South Dakota wrote; "This is a very serious matter. As you know, we are rapidly approaching the time when from 75% to 85% of our college staff in the country will hold only the master's degree. Maybe we should be considering how to strengthen the master's program, and try to save that degree." Others noted the changing nature of the Ph.D. program, how in olden days the ideal of the doctor was a kind of eighteenth-century philosoph, learned in many things, especially in languages. Now the degree has become more professional in nature, something like the advanced professional degrees in engineering. Whereas in the old days, some complain, the receiver of a Ph.D. was a learned man, now he is merely a highly specialized man, not always quite literate.

On the question of whether doctoring is on the increase or decline, opinion varies. Frank B. Davis of Auburn, Alabama, thinks there's decline. Sister Mary Olive, S.P., Saint Mary-of-the-Woods, reports no change. Howard H. Martin of Pomona reports doctoring is on the increase. The tabulation shows the highest vote for no change.

But it's time to release the results of the survey. Here you are, and do your own extrapolating. ST is going to write a letter to Ann Landers, and enclose ten cents with a self addressed envelope.

STYLE OF ADDRESS FOR A PERSON HAVING A PH.D. DEGREE

Are persons (qualified or not) addressed as Doctor?	Yes 50%	No 50%
If a person is of professorial standing, is preference given to Doctor or Professor?	Dr. 68%	Prof. 32%
Is the Ph.D. indicated in any way on departmental announcements, names on office doors, etc. (other than directory or catalog)?	Yes 26%	No 74%
Does your faculty use the Ph.D. designation after names in signing letters, etc.?	Yes 6%	No 94%
On your outgoing mail do you use "Dr." for addressee?	Yes 50%	No 50%
Has your university any official policy in these matters?	Yes 7%	No 93%
If you have or will have or would like to have a Ph.D., how would you like to be addressed? As Doctor?	Yes 32%	No 68%

Has use of doctor varied during your career?	No 49%	Doctor Increas. 30%	Doctor Decreas. 21%

(175 returns from 325 ballots)

HAPPY XLV!!

ST extends greetings to his readers and reporters on the occasion of a new year and a new volume.

Courtesies in the past year are herewith acknowledged, and future favors of news and notes are hereby solicited.

Please keep these deadlines in mind:

December 15	February number
February 15	April number
August 15	October number
October 15	December number

Please write to 204a Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana.

See you at the Christmas convention (see calendar).

PH.D. POPULATION. Until old ST stumbled on a report the other day, he would have been willing to bet a copy of *True Confessions of a Ph.D.* that the number of campus philosophs is in rapid increase. Last commencement he counted 320 Ph.D.'s. and 23 Ed.D.'s. This compared with 72 and one in 1946, admittedly not a good degree year. ST's department, with a Ph.D. population of 23, had 10 new doctors on the program, a rather high birth rate. The number of graduating academic doctors has so increased that they no longer get their dissertation titles printed on the program, although their names are still called and they get a public hooding service remarkable for its dispatch. But according to an NEA report on country-wide practice, not many of the

new doctors linger long on campi. According to the report "college and university staffs are suffering a steady deterioration, as indicated by the formal preparation of newly employed full-time teachers." The evidence is "alarming." The report gives comparisons and shows what percentage of the new doctors are going into non-educational fields. Here are some of the alarming figures:

A. In 1953-54, 40.5% of the teachers of all degree-granting institutions had earned doctor's degrees. Members joining the staffs on full time appointment showed these percentages:

53-54	31.4%
54-55	28.4
55-56	26.7
56-57	23.5

B. In 1953-54 only 10.4% of staff members had less than an M.A. degree. New appointees had these percentages:

53-54	18.2%
54-55	19.3
55-56	20.1
56-57	23.1

C. Of the 9,000 persons receiving doctor's degrees in 1955-56, 5,307 entered new occupations. Of these only 57.3% went into education; 42.7 went elsewhere. What happened in some specific fields is shown below.

	Into education	Into non-education
Physics	40.6%	59.4%
Engineering	27.4	72.6
Chemistry	25.7	74.3
Business	100.0	
Library science	100.0	
Journalism	100.0	
English	92.4	7.6
Speech	86.7	13.3

D. The percentage of doctors among the staff newly employed in 1956-57 was highest in psychology, 57%, with biological sciences, 53%, next. (Figures for speech not available.) At the other end of the scale, in engineering and agriculture, 56% and 44% of the new staff did not have even an M.A. In social sciences and in psychology, only 8% and 9% of the new staff was without an M.A. (N.E.A. *Research Bulletin*, XXXVI, 1, "Teachers for Our Colleges.")

SHOP TALK SPEECH CONVENTION CALENDAR

National

Speech Association of America: Hilton, Chicago, December 29-31; (1959: Statler, Washington, December 28-30; 1960: The Jefferson, St. Louis, December 28-30).

American Educational Theatre Association: with SAA in Chicago; (1959: with SAA in Washington; 1960: with Children's Theatre Conference in Denver, August; 1961: with CTC in New York, August).

American Forensic Association: with SAA in Chicago.

The Committee on Discussion and Debate Materials and Interstate Cooperation, National University Extension Association: with SAA in Chicago.

National Society for the Study of Communication: with SAA in Chicago.

Pi Kappa Delta: Bowling Green State University, March 22-27.

Regional

Eastern States: Henry Hudson Hotel, New York, April 9-11. (Golden anniversary convention.)

Southern States: Sheraton-Seelbach, Louisville, April 6-10.

Central States: Statler, Detroit, April 10-11.

Pacific Speech Association: (speech festival) University of Hawaii, Honolulu, January 30.

Related Organizations

American Association for Cleft Palate Rehabilitation: Sheraton, Philadelphia, April 30, May 1-2.

Modern Language Association: Statler, New York, December 27-29.

Curricula

Abilene Christian College has begun a program of advanced graduate study in the Department of Speech leading to the degree of Master of Arts.

A new program for developing college speech teachers was begun at the Pennsylvania State University this fall. It is an internship program, under the direction of Paul Holtzman. Each beginning graduate assistant is assigned to one or more mentors to observe each class period taught by a senior staff member. The novice teaches portions of the class with the senior instructor observing. After this experience with the basic speech course, approved interns will be assigned to teach sections of the course in the spring semester.

At Texas Christian, a new Department of Theatre Arts has been organized, to include theatre, opera, and ballet, under the chairmanship of Walther R. Volbach. The old De-

partment of Speech includes Speech-Radio-Television.

Colorado State University has instituted a B.S. degree in speech therapy, leading to basic certification in speech correction. A program for speech proficiency examinations for prospective teachers has been started under the direction of Richard A. Hopkins.

San Jose State College now offers a B.A. in Radio-Television in an occupational curriculum. The degree requires completion of all general education requirements of the college as well as completion of the core requirements of the Speech and Drama Department. The student may elect one of four areas for special study emphasis: technical production, performance, writing, or business management.

After five years of experimenting with a communication course for incoming freshmen, Heidelberg College has gone back to the freshman composition course and the fundamentals of public speaking course. The freshman course is three hours each semester the freshman year; the fundamentals is a two hour requirement for all graduates.

The University of Hawaii inaugurated an English Language Institute on an experimental basis last fall. The program consists of English, Speech, and Sociology. Thirty-two foreign students are enrolled in Speech.

Two semester hours of speech is now a graduation requirement at Idaho State College. There are fifty-one sections of freshman speech.

Tape recordings of the speech of over 800 entering students were made at the University of Delaware. "Arthur the Rat" was read and informal talks given. On the basis of evaluations made by members of the department working in pairs, students were recommended for appropriate speech work.

A master's program in drama, public address, and speech and hearing rehabilitation is being established at Arizona State at Tempe.

The Department of Speech and Drama at Cornell University is this year experimenting with a series of standard-reading programs for graduate students. Graduate study at Cornell is measured and evaluated by terms of satisfactory study in residence, without reference to course-hour or preplanned curricular requirements; by means of cumulative reading lists, the Department hopes to insure that all candidates read broadly and judiciously in major and minor fields, regardless of their course elections. The reading lists, as well as the content of specific courses, will be covered in comprehensive examinations. At present the program of standard readings for the M.A. and Ph.D. have been adopted only for candidates with a major or minor in rhetoric and public address. If the system proves a satisfactory means of assuring inclusive coverage while preserving the tradition of independent study in graduate work, the plan will be extended to the other areas of instruction within the department.

PROMOTION. The Ohio State University Department of Speech was invited to prepare the first educational exhibit featured at the President's Football Luncheon prior to the Southern Methodist-Ohio State football game in September. Five hundred invited guests, including members of the legislature and influential citizens of the state, were given a sixteen-page brochure entitled "The Ohio State University Presents The Department of Speech." The brochure detailed the exhibit, which was divided into three categories: curriculum display, service display, and research display. (A limited number of copies of this brochure are available; write the OSU Speech Department.) The curriculum display included a complete vidicon system with all guests being "on television" as they met the President, a pictorial display of theatres over a five century period, and three classrooms showing the tools used in public address, general speech, and speech and hearing science. Large reproductions of the covers of sixteen books written by members of the department were hung around the balcony.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURE. A very helpful little booklet, *Our American Government*, has been issued as House Document No. 386, 85th Congress, 2nd session. Such matters as how to address a member of Congress, whether members may wear hats on the floor, and methods of filibuster are reported. The pamphlet is condensed from a book of the same title, written by Wright Patman, M.C., now revised and published in a dollar paper edition by Scholastic Magazines. Each member of Congress has 2,000 copies of the pamphlet for free distribution.

BALLOT. AFA has designed a debate rating sheet in triplicate, with carbon inserts, all ready for the judge's pencil. Forms can be had from Victor Powell, AFA secretary, Wabash College, for two cents each plus postage.

FORENSIC PYROTECHNICS. A number of colleges commemorated, in one way or another, the Lincoln-Douglas debates. At Fulton, Missouri, students from William Woods marched in torchlight procession to Westminster College where parts of the original debates were staged. "We like Abe," read one of the banners. At Bradley University, as a feature of the annual debate tournament, scenes from the debates were reenacted by students who previously had acted in the Metamora torchlight celebration.

CENTENNIAL PIECE. *The Lincoln-Douglas Debate at Freeport* is the title of an illustrated brochure prepared by Paul Crawford of Northern Illinois University. It was published by the University in cooperation with the Lincoln-Douglas Society of Freeport. In it are descriptions of the debates, settings and historical evaluations, and the text of the speaking at Freeport. Copies can be procured from W. P. Froom, Office of Regional Services, Northern Illinois University, DeKalb, without cost.

COLLECTOR'S ITEM. *The Rhetorical Idiom*, studies in honor of H. A. Wichelns (see *QJS*, XLIV, 313-317), published in February, is now out of print. The issue of 750 copies sold out in eight months. Formal presentation of the volume is to be made in December at the Chicago convention. We hope the presentation committee has laid a copy aside.

INTRAMURAL. Here is a news release from Emerson College, dated October 11:

Two Emerson coeds went to prison Saturday evening, but it's just the same old con game. They were members of the Emerson College debate team which journeyed to Norfolk Prison, Walpole, Massachusetts, for the annual debate series with the prisoners, begun five years ago. The Emerson girls upheld the negative of the proposition that intolerance is more to be feared than ignorance. In past debates the Norfolk teams have argued successfully that American college standards are too low, and that rock 'n' roll music should be banned. The prison team is coached by Emerson speech instructor Haig ter Marderosian.

HOMILETICAL NOTE. We are indebted to *The Reporter* (February 20, p. 4) for calling our attention to the efficacy of prayer in the U. S. Senate. Turning to the *Congressional Record* we discovered the following. On January 30, after desperate attempts to launch a satellite had failed, the Rev. William E. Trice, D. D., pastor of the University Methodist Church in Baton Rouge, substituting for the Senate Chaplain who was ill, addressed omnipotence: "O Thou God of outer space and inner man . . ." The next day the Reverend Caradine R. Hooton, general secretary, the Methodist Board of Temperance, intoned: "Everlasting Father, governor of outer space and giver of inward grace. . . ." That night, at 10:48, the Army's Jupiter-C rocket launched our 30.8 pound moon. Meanwhile, back at the House, prayers were being said as usual, without any celestial implications. "Almighty God," spoke the House Chaplain on January 30. In fact the race for space was not prayerfully acknowledged until March 12, and then on a pessimistic note. Rabbi Julius G. Neumann, Congregation Zichron Moshe, New York City, implored that we might hear "the still, small voice above the thundering detonation of A- and H-bombs. . . ."

DRAMA AT GALESBURG. Back in October 7, 1858, the Lincoln-Douglas debate at Galesburg was mainly forensic in nature. But the reenactment, a hundred years to the day later, was sheer, stark drama. Even the weather conspired.

The celebration ran for four days, with the last day reserved for honorary degrees, pageant, and debate. A platform had been built on the east side of Old Main, exactly as before, even to the banner, "Knox College For Lincoln." A local player, Richard Sokup, had been tutored for the Douglas part, but since Knox lacked an actor of Lincoln's statuesque size, Arthur Bartow, University of Oklahoma, six foot four without the hat, had been imported. All was ready. Under direction of Parker Zellers of nearby Monmouth College, a pageant of three hundred people in costume, to be conveyed in ox carts, wagons, and buggies, had been prepared to preface the debate, supply an audience to give heckles from the text, and provide appropriate roistering.

As the bell tolled the hour of convocation, the heavens opened. The degrees were managed in sanctuary of the gymnasium, but nothing could be done about debate and pageant—too big for a hall. The agents, even to the oxen, played their parts in defiance of weather. A local Congressman held an umbrella for Carl Sandburg, local boy returned heavy with honor, who remarked, "5,000 people and not a case of pneumonia, yet." All things were as they were, except the rain and elec-

tronics. With Ken Carpenter as narrator, pageant and debate were televised. The less hardy centenarians could see it all without a splash or a chill. *Life* (November 10, pp. 103-108) had a group of pictures on the L-D series. If you look through the legs of the man on the 1958 wagon, p. 105, you can just make out the dark form of your reporter, under mackintosh and umbrella, taking the storm of rain and rhetoric the hardy way.

THEATRE NOTES

This season the Cornell Dramatic Club, the undergraduate division of the Cornell University Theatre, will observe its fiftieth consecutive year of production. Special lectures, exhibits, and an anniversary luncheon in March will help to commemorate the occasion. The Club was organized in 1909 under the sponsorship of James A. Winans, then head of the department of public speaking. The first production performed was Ibsen's *An Enemy of the People*, under the direction of Smiley Blanton. In 1912, A. M. Drummond became director of the Club, and in 1930 of the Cornell University Theatre when it was established. In the forty-nine years since the opening the Cornell Dramatic Club has staged 211 full-length plays, of which 5 were written by Cornellians, and 601 short plays, of which 150 were written by Cornellians.

A three act drama, *Our Brothers*, was given nightly for a week preceding commemoration of the Lincoln-Douglas centennial at Eastern Illinois University, Charleston. The play was written by Dorothee M. Coleman and directed by E. Glendon Gabbard. Mrs. Coleman is the wife of Charles H. Coleman, Lincoln scholar. The story deals with a rural Coles County family, the dispute over slavery, and the debate, which was the fourth in the Lincoln-Douglas series of seven.

Georgetown College, Kentucky, is periodically producing the religious play, *Job*. During the summer the play was given at the Brussels Fair, and in churches in England. O. R. Corey, director of theatre, conducted the tour. *John Henry* also was played on the tour.

A company of students from Idaho State College will tour Japan, Korea, and Pacific islands in February and March. They will travel by air as guests of the armed services. Hal J. Todd is the director.

At Oberlin, the Gilbert and Sullivan Players, invigorated by a season this summer on Cape Cod, opened with *Ruddigore*. The players have selected as their contribution to the 125th anniversary of the college a production of *Trial by Jury*.

Mississippi Southern College is making plans for extension work and stock productions at the Pas-Point Little Theatre, Pascagoula, this summer. Robert M. Treser, director of theatre, is in charge of plans.

Pomona College this year will emphasize "plays of great import," reports George T. Forrester, director of drama. The drama which has been influential in shaping contemporary appreciation will be featured. The first production was Jean-Paul Sartre's *The Flies*.

The Stanford Players announced their year's program in a full page advertisement in the October issue of *QJS* (p. 14). The Players began their Matinee Series with a lecture by Joseph Wood Krutch. A production of *The Second Shepherds' Play* is scheduled for the series in November.

The University of Delaware theatre season opened in October with the first of three performances of *Lady Precious Stream*, an adaptation of a Chinese classic by S. I. Haiung. The play was produced by the E 52 University Theatre, which had just completed an 8-week tour of the Far East last spring. Six members of the touring company have parts in the current production. C. R. Kase is directing, and the lighting and scenery are designed by Mr. Thomas Watson. Two additional performances were given in Wilmington in October.

The Tanglewood Summer Theatre, on the edge of Winston-Salem, completed its first season under the direction of James H. Walton, director of theatre at Wake Forest. A professional company with four Broadway actors presented the bill. Dinah Gattis of Wake Forest was in the company.

The University of Wisconsin Players celebrated opening of their 36th season by running a full page announcement in the October *QJS* (p. 26). Three plays, *Tiger at the Gates*, *The Importance of Being Earnest*, and *The Corn Is Green* are being done as contributions to international theatre.

GEORGIANA VON TORNOW, 1905-1958

Georgiana von Tornow, associate professor of speech and director of drama, State University of New York Teachers College, Fredonia, died August 6. She had been at Fredonia 12 years. She was born September 14, 1905, in Buffalo. She received an A.B. degree from Tufts, and the A.M. and Ph.D. from Cornell. She had taught at Queens College, Kingston, Ontario, and at Cornell, and had been head

of the drama and speech department at Penn Hall Junior College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, for eight years before going to Fredonia.

For the greater part of the half century of her life, Georgiana von Tornow lived *with* that which is the most penetrating and compassionate symbol of life—the drama—and *for* that which is the most dynamic and demanding as well, the living drama—the theatre.

Hers was a life of comedy and tragedy—the high Shavian comedy of character in which one sees through the foibles of people in power and the serenest form of Chekhovian tragedy in which one faces the severest test and remains steadfast in faith.

Solomon Simonson
State University of New York
Teachers College, Fredonia

ALAN HITCHCOCK, 1928-1958

Alan Hitchcock, assistant professor of speech and director of theatre, Lamar State College of Technology, Beaumont, Texas, since 1956, was killed in an automobile accident May 3, 1958. Mr. Hitchcock received his B.S. degree from the University of Houston and his M.A. degree from Teachers College, Columbia University. He had formerly taught at Lon Morris College, Jacksonville, Texas. He was born November 19, 1928.

Edward J. West, University of Colorado, died October 31. A memorial will appear in *QJS* for February 1959.

APPOINTMENTS

Abilene Christian College: Charles Coleman, assistant professor; Mrs. Rex Kyker, instructor; Frank Morris, assistant in technical theatre; Milton Copeland, assistant in debate; Mrs. John Gamble, assistant in fundamentals.

Alabama College, Montevallo: Vivian I. Roe, associate professor and director of the residential speech and hearing clinic.

Arizona State College: James W. Yeater, director of technical theatre.

Baylor University: Thomas B. Abbott, director of speech correction and audiology.

Berry College: William I. Gorden, assistant professor.

Bethany College: John D. Babington, head of speech and drama department, succeeding Clyde Yarbrough.

Birmingham Southern College: Charles E. Porterfield, chairman, department of speech.

Boston College: Mrs. Ruth McGaffey, instructor.

Boston University: Louise Kingman, instructor.

Bradley University: Charles Tucker, Irene McDaniel, Mrs. Arthur H. Bonney, Bill Waldmeier, instructors; Charles Lofstrom, Charles Lawrence, Robert Anderson, Georgia Spelman, assistants.

Brooklyn College: Wilson Lehr, associate professor of speech and theatre and head of dramatics.

Capital University: Thomas Ludlum, associate professor and head, department of speech; Harold Edmondson, director of speech therapy and instructor in speech.

Carnegie Institute of Technology: Theodore Hoffman, associate professor, head of the department of drama, succeeding Henry Boettcher.

Central Missouri State College: Arthur Prosper, assistant professor in radio and television.

Cornell University: Carl H. Ritzman, University of Oklahoma, visiting professor in phonetics and speech correction; Joseph Golden (Elmira College), assistant professor; Junius N. Hamblin (Louisiana State University), instructor and technical director-designer for the University Theatre; Thomas W. Benson, Ralph G. Culp, Francine A. Jacobs, James Leonard, James R. McClintock, Jr., Charles D. Neel, James C. Skaine, assistants.

Earlham College: Charles E. Matthews, instructor.

Flint Junior College: Ronald H. Dennison, instructor.

Furman University: Mitchell Cornell, instructor, director of forensics, technical theatre and speech therapy.

Georgetown College: Henry C. Lindsey, chairman of the department of speech, succeeding Rena Calhoun; Edwina Hunter, instructor in interpretation; Don Zacharias, instructor in forensics and director of debate.

Harvard University: Harry P. Kerr, lecturer in public speaking.

Heidelberg College: Robert O. Juergens, instructor in speech and director of theatre; Rev. Allan G. MacKenzie, assistant professor; Carla Rae Waal, instructor.

Hiram College: William K. Clark, head of the department of speech.

Hope College: Robert L. Smith, instructor, director of debate.

Humboldt State College: Clyde L. Rousey (University of Kansas Medical Center), director of speech clinic; Lloyd Crisp, instructor in fundamentals.

Idaho State College: Alan Blomquist (University of Minnesota), instructor in speech and drama.

Indiana University: Ed Amor, Suzanne Barnett, Richard Brown, Wilfred Casciato, Lee Devin, Kent Gallagher, William Gering, Joseph Green, Benjamin Griffiths, Sandy Havens, Robert Hennon, Sandra Lewis, John Mills, Gus Sacopulos, Paul Wadleigh, Richard Waite, Richard Weinman, associates and assistants.

Iowa State College: Edmund Lynch, Christian Melz, Paula Hayne, instructors.

Kansas State College: Mrs. Anita Grimm Taylor, instructor.

Kent State University: William E. Weidner, instructor, supervisor of speech and hearing therapy; Louis O. Erdmann, instructor, technical director of the University Theatre; Thomas Burford, Art Jewell, William Mowder, assistants.

Knox College: Donald L. Torrence (Connecticut Wesleyan), instructor and director of debate.

Long Island University: Malcolm Lieblich, adjunct assistant professor; Robin Taylor, instructor.

Louisiana State University: John Guy Handley, instructor; Barbara Maher, special lecturer.

Miami Univerity: Robert William Evans, instructor, assistant debate director, assistant director of speakers' bureau.

Michigan State University: John E. Dietrich (Ohio State), head of the department of speech, to succeed Armand L. Hunter, now director of university broadcasting.

Mississippi Southern College: Walter E. Simonson (Wisconsin State College), professor in public address and director of forensics.

Muskingum College: Arthur Sinclair, assistant professor, director of theatre and drama.

Nebraska State Teachers College: Robert Larson (Norfolk Junior College), head of basic speech program.

Northern Illinois University: William Shearer, associate professor of audiology.

Northwestern University: Robert Gay (New England Opera), associate professor of opera.

Oberlin College: Jerome Landfield (Michigan State University), assistant professor.

Occidental College: Ciwa Griffiths, director of Hear Foundation, instructor in lipreading and aural rehabilitation; Paul Hunsinger (Southern Illinois University), director of interpretation.

Ohio State University: Keith Brooks, Richard M. Mall, administrative assistants to the chairman; Roy H. Bowen, associate professor; Robert E. Dunham, Richard D. Rieke, instructors; John R. Thayer, Charles John Tolch, assistants.

Ohio University: Paul Brandes (Mississippi Southern College), associate professor of public address.

Ouachita College: Thomas Tedford (Southern Baptist Theological Seminary), head of the department of speech.

Pennsylvania State University: Cyril F. Hager, professor of speech and social science, director of the center for continuing liberal education at Penn State; John A. Davis, David M. Jabusch, instructors.

Purdue University: Robert S. Goyer, assistant professor of public address; William M. Hardy, associate director of Purdue Playshop; John T. Rickey, associate director of the Indiana high school debaters' conference and legislative assembly; Lois E. Craig, Ernest C. Thompson, instructors; Bobby Gene Ackley, Ned S. Bobkoff, Arthur R. Embry, Fred F. Keip, Jr., Charles M. Kelly, Larry A. Samovar, David L. Ward, William K. Young, LaVerne Baker, Judy Jo Cox, Joanne Gordon, James Palasek, Beverly J. Scharlott, Edward B. Stark, William G. Williams, Mary E. Tucker, Judith Simpson, assistants.

Queens College: Wade Curry, lecturer and technical director of the theatre; Jack Bloom, instructor.

San Francisco State College: James East (Stanford University), director of forensics; Eugene Rebstock (Northwestern University), assistant professor.

San Jose State College: Clarence E. Flick, associate professor, director of radio and television; Jack H. Neeson, assistant professor of drama.

South Carolina State College: Jeanne Grove, instructor.

South Dakota State College: Carolyn Claussen, Sandra Kachelhoffer, Robert Litke, Robert O'Connor, Adrian Parmeter, Ted Switzer, assistants.

Southern Illinois University: Christian H. Moe, assistant professor of speech and drama.

Southeast Missouri State College: Bill Hulsopple, director of drama.

Southern Methodist University: William Shapard, fellow in speech and theatre, technical director of theatre.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute: W. Ernest Vincent (Tampa University), assistant professor of speech, radio and television; Frances Pickering, Mildred La Haye, Mrs. Beverly Dalferes Latimer, Felix Frederick, instructors.

Stanford University: Wendell Cole, acting executive head; Robert Dierlam, Queens College, visiting professor in theatre and drama; Alfred Sensenbach, assistant professor, theatre and drama; John Witherspoon, instructor, radio and television; Ford Oehne, theatre technician; Clara Bush, Hugh Evans, Polly Fitch, John McElhaney, Haig Bosemajian, Charles Dickey, Jon Ericson, Matt Lehmann, Griffith Richards, Earl Owens, Ned Bowman, Barbara Cleveland, James Freiburger, Catherine Means, Lawrence Wismer, Jean West, assistants.

State Teachers College, New Haven, Connecticut: Allan B. Drexler, director of speech and hearing clinic.

State University of Iowa: Donald Williams, University of Texas, visiting professor in television, radio, and film.

State University of New York Teachers College, Fredonia: Alice Bartlett, assistant professor in speech education; David Bohnert, instructor in radio production; Clyde Lytle, associate dean; Alan McLeod, director of debate.

Stetson University: Bryne Blackwood, University of Arkansas, visiting director of technical production.

Teachers College, Columbia University: William Canfield, co-director (with Jane Zimmerman) of the speech rehabilitation training project; Fergus Currie, Mary Marcellus, instructors.

Temple University: Irwin Kuhr, instructor, director of men's debate; David Reifsnyder instructor, director of student speakers' bureau; Jack Smith, Mrs. Fay Katz, instructors; Edward Russell, Betty Lefcourt, Peter Morris, Ann Kirkpatrick, John Mossberg, Alan Schwartz, Michael Schwartz, assistants.

Texas Christian University: Robert Clyde Yarbrough (Bethany College), chairman of the department of speech.

University of Arizona: Jack H. Howe, assistant professor, director of debate; Paul Mac Cready, instructor; Jan Barker Boone, Kathleen Shogren, Don Warburton, Andrew Limber, assistants.

University of California: William I. Oliver (Cornell University), assistant professor of drama.

University of Connecticut: Edward D. Mysak, assistant professor, consultant at Newington Home & Hospital for Crippled Children.

University of Florida: C. K. Thomas, professor, director of the Summer English Language Institute; Dominic Cunetto, Alice Lowder, Fred Minifie, Wallace Sterling, Mary Jeanette Taylor, David Thomas, assistants.

University of Georgia: Russell Everett.

University of Hawaii: Don Klopf (University of Washington), assistant professor; Katharine Phipps (Wenatchee Valley College), Kathleen Scott, Mildred Jenkins (University of Utah), instructors; James K. Buckalew, Bedonna Hogan, Eileen Johnson, Melba Leong, Ronald Lin, Judith Sopher, assistants.

University of Houston: Robert Howery, technical director of theatre; David Larson, director of drama; Ellen Barrow, professional modeling division of drama.

University of Illinois: Lucille Magnon, instructor; Mary Beth Armstrong, Vincent Bevilacqua, Mary Ann Brown, Sally Campbell, Robert Carr, Wilma Dryden, Thomas DuVal, Carl Ek, Lee Feldman, Jerry Griffith, Charles Love, Jimmie Meese, Norman Myers, Femmy Ogterop, Glenn Pierce, Joseph Riggs, Beecham Robinson, Sally Six, Charles Stewart, Harry Stiver, Henry Tharp, Jimmy Wallace, Thomas Waters, Joseph Wenzel, Warren Wright, Alice Zanetakos, assistants.

University of Illinois, Chicago Undergraduate Division: Theodore Kundrat, instructor.

University of Kansas City: Reta Hough.

University of Massachusetts: Richard L. Stromgren.

University of Michigan: John P. Highlander, lecturer in radio and television; Robert C. Bilger, assistant professor in speech correction and audiology; Elizabeth Barbari, Ralph Duckwall, Jr., Herbert Hildebrandt, Ronald Tikofsky, instructors.

University of North Dakota: E. Scott Bryce (WMT-TV, Cedar Rapids), instructor and assistant director of KFJM-UND; Thomas E. Jones (Heidelberg College), instructor and technical director of theatre; Richard A. Korfhage (KNOX), instructor and program director of KFJM-UND.

University of Southern California: Edward W. Borgers (formerly a member of the Radio and Television Department of the Bruce B. Brewer and Company advertising agency in Kansas City), assistant professor of telecommunications.

(To be continued in February.)

Radio and TV

Bates College began broadcasting this fall over its new FM station WRJR. Victor Seymour is advisor to the undergraduate group conducting the station, as well as director of the broadcasting program of the college.

The College of William and Mary has a new FM station. It is also calling for bids to equip its new television facility.

Harry Williams of Miami University is featured weekly over WLW, Cincinnati. He discusses ways of evaluating world news, with tips on how to analyze propaganda. Miami University's FM station WMUB and the television facilities have been combined into the Miami University Broadcasting Service under the direction of Stephen C. Hathaway.

Ohio University has increased its facilities and equipment in radio-television. Vincent Jukes will direct the exploratory use of television for classroom instruction, the second semester.

Heidelberg College has installed a system of wired wireless in order that broadcasts may be made to dormitories. Wires are available for rental from the telephone company.

The Goshen College Department of Speech has received approval for WGCS-FM with a broadcasting studio on the campus. Equipment has been installed and regular broadcasts begun.

The University of Illinois, Chicago Undergraduate Division, in the summer of 1958 sponsored noncredit courses in freshman English and mathematics over the educational channel, WTTW-TV. More than 1300 enrolled for these courses, each of which consisted of thirty-three half-hour meetings. Students paid $5.00 for a work-book and tests for each course.

The University of New Mexico is on the air, Channel 5, offering four courses for credit, simultaneously open-channel and closed-circuit. The courses offered for regular residence credit are: Anthropology, English, Spanish, and Mathematics II. The courses must be taken in a classroom situation at the receiving end. Specially trained monitor teachers received orientation from the Director of University TV and Radio, Bernarr Cooper, in the speech department.

The Northwestern University Reviewing Stand, the oldest university discussion program in the nation, began its 25th radio year on Sunday, October 12. The first Reviewing Stand programs in 1934 were aired from a small studio in the basement of the school of speech on the Evanston campus. A single faculty member delivered a prepared talk and answered rehearsed questions put to him by a graduate student. In 1935, the program's format was expanded to discussions between two faculty members. The following year, non-faculty speakers were invited to participate, and listeners were encouraged to send comments and questions. That year the program was carried on eight stations affiliated with the Mutual Network.

In 1939, scripts were abandoned in favor of brief outlines and extemporaneous discussion. A third participant, a moderator, was added to represent the listener, and three or four speakers were used. In 1941, the program was increased from 15 to 25 minutes. The number of stations scheduling the Reviewing Stand jumped to 62, and the first studio audience was admitted. This open-door policy was abandoned after one instance when give-and-take among the visitors ended in a fist fight. In early 1942, the length of the program was increased to a half hour, and transcripts of the discussions were printed for distribution. James H. McBurney, Dean of the Northwestern School of Speech, took over the job as moderator in May 1942, and has served continuously since.

Since the war, increased attention has been given to personal questions and to literature, art, and science, in addition to current national and world problems. Programs are aimed at fulfilling the Reviewing Stand mission of presenting "thoughtful discussions on questions of national interest and significance." The programs originate from WGN Chicago, Sunday evenings at 8:30. They are scheduled at various times by other stations. The Pacific Coast Mutual Network carries them a week later at 5 p.m.

Theatre Schedules

Abilene Christian College: *Wizard of Oz*, *The Man Who Married a Dumb Wife*, at the Texas state fair in October and on campus in arena style, a musical.

Alabama College: *Hedda Gabler*, *Love for Love*, *Desire Under the Elms*.

Arizona State College: *The Lady's Not For Burning*, *As You Like It*.

Ball State Teachers College: *Teahouse of the August Moon*, *Thunder Rock*, *Mister Roberts*, *The Seven Year Itch*.

Bethany College: *Hedda Gabler*, *Twelfth Night*, and a musical.

Birmingham Southern College: *The Cherry Orchard*, *The Boy Friend*.

Black Hills Teachers College: *Harvey, Night Must Fall, The Rainmaker, Years Ago.*

Bowling Green State University: *Visit to a Small Planet, Craig's Wife, An Enemy of the People, The Streets of New York, Cyrano de Bergerac.*

Bradley University: *Born Yesterday, Diary of Anne Frank, Julius Caesar, Voice of the Turtle, Mister Roberts.*

Brooklyn College: *The Member of the Wedding, Oedipus Rex, Blithe Spirit, Romeo and Juliet,* a musical and a children's play.

Capital University: *Teahouse of the August Moon,* an evening of one acts, a Lenten play, and a May Day play.

Carleton College: *The Inspector General, The Crucible, Ring Round the Moon,* with a spring program of originals, children's theatre, and musicals.

Carnegie Institute of Technology: *The Crucible, The River Line, Caucasian Chalk Circle.*

Central Missouri State College: *Cat on a Hot Tin Roof, Hedda Gabler, Volpone.*

Chatham College: *Words Upon the Window Pane, Queens of France, Family Reunion, Plain and Fancy.*

Colorado State University: *Inherit the Wind, Many Moons*—children's theatre, *Macbeth, The King of Hearts,* and *The Gondoliers, Antigone, Of, By, and For—a Centennial Salute to Colorado,* in arena.

Converse College: *Thieves' Carnival, Romeo and Juliet, Hedda Gabler.*

Cornell University: *Bell, Book and Candle, The Rivals,* Anouilh's *Antigone, Ghosts, The Taming of the Shrew.*

DePauw University: *Twelfth Night, The Mousetrap, Inherit the Wind, Fashion.*

Drake University: *Harvey, The Matchmaker, Cymbeline, The Dybbuk, The Lark.*

Earlham College: *Misalliance, Another Part of the Forest, Patience, Antigone, The Taming of the Shrew.*

Florida Southern College: *Othello, Caesar and Cleopatra, Family Reunion, The Man in the Bowler Hat.*

Furman University: *Winterset, Arms and the Man, Pinafore,* in collaboration with music department, *The Private Secretary.*

Georgetown College: Church tour of *Job, Julius Caesar, Dr. Faustus,* and a children's theatre play.

Georgetown University: *The Caine Mutiny Court Martial, Triple Play,* three original one-acts, *Captain Brassbound's Conversion, Anyone Mind?*—an original musical revue.

Hampton Institute: *Oedipus Rex, The House of Bernarda Alba,* arrangement of *The Fall of the City* by Archibald Macleish, with the speech choir, and plays by O'Neill and Strindberg.

Hope College: *Scapin,* and short works in religious drama.

Humboldt State College: *Outward Bound, Comedy of Errors, Waiting for Godot, The Corn is Green,* and a faculty reading.

Indiana University: *Janus, The Would Be Invalid, Major Barbara, Jordan River Revue, The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus,* a Lincoln Sesquicentennial play, and a children's play.

Iowa State College: *I Remember Mama, O'Neill and the Sea, Stalag 17, Murder in the Cathedral, Mistress of the Inn, Taming of the Shrew.*

Kansas State College: *Inherit the Wind, Mary Stuart, No Time for Sergeants,* a children's theatre play, four short plays, and three original one-act plays.

Kent State University: *Anastasia, The Boy Friend, The Lark, Alice in Wonderland, A Clearing in the Woods, The Lady's Not For Burning.*

Kenyon College: *The Confidential Clerk, Julius Caesar, The Chairs.*

Knox College: *My Three Angels, Othello, Carousel, Baffling Eyes of Youth,* a playlet about Lincoln at Knox, by Otto Harbach, who attended the production.

Long Island University: *The Warrior's Husband, The Shrike.*

Louisiana State University: *Three Men On a Horse, He Who Gets Slapped, Dark of the Moon, The Rivals,* and two operas in cooperation with the school of music.

Miami University: *Liliom, The School for Scandal, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Our Town,* series of one-acts.

Mississippi Southern College: *King Midas and the Golden Touch,* a children's play, with tour of Mississippi and Louisiana, *Dracula, Guys and Dolls, Julius Caesar,* original one-act plays, written by the playwriting class.

Northwestern University: *Legend of Lovers, Galileo, The Cherry Orchard, Sandhog, Henry IV, Ah, Wilderness!*

Oberlin College: *He Who Gets Slapped, Six Characters in Search of an Author.*

Occidental College: *You Never Can Tell, The Caine Mutiny Court Martial, The Merchant of Venice.*

Ohio State University: *The Rainmaker, Beyond the Horizon, Cyrano de Bergerac, The Glass Menagerie, Show Boat,*

Ohio University: *The Desk Set, Amphitryon 38, Summer and Smoke, Antigone, LaGringa.*

Purdue University: *Mister Roberts, The Cocktail Party, Death of a Salesman, Guys and Dolls, Hamlet.*

Queens College: *Billy Budd, Hotel Universe, The Flies, Blithe Spirit.*

Rollins College: *The Teahouse of the August Moon, The Three Sisters, A Doll's House,* with Tore Segelcke of Norway, *Androcles and the Lion, Sister Angelica, An Italian Straw Hat.*

Sam Houston State Teachers College: *The Moon is Blue, Death Takes a Holiday, Green-sleeves' Magic, She Stoops to Conquer,* and a musical.

San Jose State College: *The Comedy of Errors, The Good Witch of Boston,* a musical for children, *The Lower Depths, The Thieves' Carnival.*

South Dakota State College: *Sabrina Fair,* in the round, *The Rivals, Rabbit Rarities,* a variety, *The Rich, Plain and Fancy,* an evening of one-acts.

Southwestern Louisiana Institute: *Anne of a Thousand Days, Taming of the Shrew, Wuthering Heights.*

Stanford University: *Orpheus Descending, Venus Observed, Iolanthe, Uncle Vanya, Major Barbara, The Cocktail Party.*

State University of Iowa: *Picnic, The Chairs* and *L'Histoire du Soldat, Six Characters in Search of An Author, Beyond Our Control, The Imaginary Invalid, The World Is Round.*

State University Teachers College, Potsdam: *Our Town, Noah.*

Stetson University: *The Crucible, The Importance of Being Earnest, Christmas in the Market Place, The Menaechmi, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Easter, Slaughter of the Innocents, Summertime.*

Tulane University: *The Time of Your Life, The Adding Machine, The Three Sisters, The Matchmaker.*

University of Alabama: *Desk Set, Macbeth, Life With Father, La Boheme, The Crucible, The Matchmaker.*

University of California at Los Angeles: *Teach Me How to Cry, Much Ado About Nothing, A Nickel for the Grave; Yes, My Lord, Game of Gods, Uncle Vanya.*

University of Florida: *The Starwagon, Right You Are If You Think You Are, Blood Wedding, The Cheats of Scapin.*

University of Illinois: *Winterset, The Imaginary Invalid, Othello, Henry IV, The Matchmaker.*

University of Kansas City: *Inherit the Wind, Electra, The Taming of the Shrew,* opera by Vittorio Giannini, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme, Blood Wedding;* Community Children's Theatre: *Aladdin, The Magic Horn of Charlemagne.*

University of Michigan: *Ah, Wilderness!, The Matchmaker, Carmen,* in cooperation with the school of music, *Volpone, Electra.*

University of Redlands: *Visit to a Small Planet, Dark of the Moon, Tea and Sympathy, Saint Joan.*

University of Tulsa: *The Simpleton of the Unexpected Isles, A View From the Bridge, The Name Is Jones, The Beaux' Stratagem, The Cave Dwellers.*

University of Wisconsin: *Tiger at the Gates, Three Men on a Horse, Oklahoma, The Importance of Being Earnest, The Corn Is Green,* contributions to International Theatre Festival.

Wake Forest College: *All My Sons, Ladies in Retirement, European Adventure,* three one-acts by European authors. *The Importance of Being Earnest, A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

Washington University: *Mister Roberts, Hippolytus, Summer and Smoke.* Six evenings of experimental theatre started with a reading of *Under Milkwood.*

West Virginia University: *Witness for the Prosecution, The Pajama Game, The Matchmaker.*

William and Mary: *Mad Woman of Chaillot, Glass Menagerie, Trio, All's Well That Ends Well.*

Wilson Branch, Chicago City College System: *Taming of the Shrew, Death of a Salesman, Orpheus Descending, Our Town.*

Buildings

Capital University expects to have a new speech and fine arts building next year.

Almost completed at Central Missouri State College are new quarters for the speech department. Included are radio studios, classrooms, offices, a theatre-in-the-round, and new speech clinic facilities.

Eastern Illinois University will have new speech facilities. In September the cornerstone of the new Fine Arts Center was laid. The building is to house most of the work in speech, art, and music, and is scheduled for completion before next summer. A little theatre, seating 415 persons, with a large, flexible stage will be a feature of one wing. The general speech area will consist of classrooms, special purpose rooms, practice cubicles, and offices. Officiating at the cornerstone laying were the Governor, the Senators, and various

other dignitaries—all in town for the Charleston celebration of the Lincoln-Douglas debate.

At Humboldt State College, a new theatre arts building is under construction and should be completed for the fall of 1959.

At Kent State University contracts were awarded for a new three and one-half million dollar speech-music center, which will include a 500-seat theatre, speech and hearing clinic, radio and television studios, and several classrooms. Date for completion of the structure is July 1960.

The speech department at the University of Arizona moved into new quarters with 8,000 square feet of space for offices, practice rooms, and clinic. Space for the clinic includes not only the usual therapy rooms but a sound proof speech reception testing and hearing-aid evaluation center and a well equipped voice science laboratory for study and research. Radio and TV training are carried on in a separate building, designed to house the educational station KUAT, Channel 6, Tucson.

The dramatics section of the University of Miami's speech department is housed this year in the lower floor of Fisher Hall, a 102-year-old structure, formerly used for men's housing. Conversion has provided facilities for a little theatre, offices, and classrooms.

The University of Oklahoma reports that the Kellogg Foundation has definitely decided to locate its next adult education center at Norman. It is providing a grant of nearly two million dollars to aid in the construction of a three million dollar building of the most modern and functional design for purposes of adult education. The department of speech has worked closely with the extension division in this project and is included in the plans for providing leadership training and other services for adults in the state through the use of these new facilities.

Ground was broken in June for the new Queens College music and speech building. The building will be completed in approximately two years. It will provide classroom and laboratory facilities, with an auditorium and theatre. The air-conditioned auditorium seating 2,238 is designed for large musical productions and major theatrical enterprises. The theatre, which will seat 499, has a stage which will accommodate most theatrical productions including musical plays and grand opera. Both auditorium and theatre will be equipped with projection booths and radio and TV control rooms. The speech wing provides 16 classrooms, three studios, a lecture classroom, and departmental offices. The speech correction wing is a one story unit separating the music wing from the speech wing. It will contain offices, conference rooms, and a completely soundproof speech testing unit.

Back Talk

. . . as an old book-hand (and hound) I was delighted to learn from the April issue that our profession can boast of a number of aficionados. Do you know the two pamphlets published by the New York Public Library, both by Lawrence S. Thompson, *Notes on Bibliokleptomania* (1944) and *Bibliopegia Fantastica* (1947)? Both are of interest to bibliolatrists and bibliomaniacs.

. . . you refer to "a pre-first" edition of Joshua Steele's *An Essay Toward Establishing the Melody and Measure of Speech*, 1775. I know there are several "versions" of the 1775, some of which are entitled *Prosodia Rationalis, or an Essay* . . . etc. and others of which are entitled simply *An Essay* . . . etc., as well as several of the 1779. I guess that this is probably because of the method of printing and publication at the time rather than because of editorial changes. If, however, you know of bibliographical reasons for reference to "pre-first" edition, I would greatly appreciate it if you would let me know.

Bibliophilically yours,
John B. Newman
Queens College

Answer: Thanks for tip. My reference to a "pre-first" Steele was a bit of bravura. I was following the old distinction of considering the work to be *Prosodia Rationalis*, with the *Essay* as preliminary. My copy is dated 1775. I got it from Thomas Thorp, London, for around $9.00.

Since receiving your note I have looked up your articles on Steele in *Monographs* (XVIII, 279-287 and XX, 65-73). Your note on page 279 gives the pertinent details of the titles, and I see you prefer PR for both, but recognize the other classification. So far as I know, you are the world's leading authority on this matter.

. . . Congress pushed Shop Talk off base by chopping our 1958-59 appropriation in half, and a bit more, so that end to end we will spend about a half million. That's still a lot of money, but I'm afraid the Lincoln bibliography will have to go.

Shop Talk, in addition to its high merits

per se, is bringing us a lot of business. Nearly every mail brings us a request for the *Handbook of Information* as cited in your column.

Cordially yours,
William E. Baringer
Executive Director
Lincoln Sesquicentennial Commission
National Archives Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Answer: As you say, half a million is better than none. Finding the *Handbook* very useful.

. . . understand there is an article entitled "Bibliophilic Blues" in which the item 282 from our catalogue 655, the first edition of *Pamela* is mentioned. As I catalogued that item I would be very grateful to receive an off-print of your interesting contribution.

Thanking you in anticipation,
Yours faithfully,
M. Schoenfeld
Blackwell's
Broad Street, Oxford

Answer: Yes. Let me congratulate you on a nice piece of cataloguing. Sorry to learn "the fly-leaf of vol. iii is a little frayed." Flattered by your notice. Offprint being dispatched.

. . . request permission to reprint "Let Those Who Can, Do" and "Pervasive Speech" from the February number.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
Harold J. Ripper, Editor
Speech and Drama
Dayton House, High Holborn
London

Answer: Your humble and obedient servant, sir.

. . . request permission to reprint three delightful essays from the April issue, "Bibliophilic Blues," "TR as Bibliophile," and "Edward Gordon Craig Collection" by John Wesley Swanson.

Sincerely,
Sol. M. Malkin
Editor and Publisher
Antiquarian Bookman

Answer: Flattered, and editor Bryant says you may.

. . . the officers of Whig-Clio were much pleased with your story of the Clio stone in the Washington monument. I am spending Thanksgiving in Washington, and will again ascend the monument to try for the Whig stone. Since it was set earlier it must be somewhere below the Clio stone. Taking my camera, and if I locate the stone, will send you a picture.

Sincerely yours,
Clarence S. Angell
Princeton University

Answer: Watch your step, and rush photograph.

. . . offers me a copy of Goodrich, *Select British Eloquence*, 1853, for $35.00, or will trade for the two Brigance volumes, *A History and Criticism of American Public Address*. . . . Where could I get this set . . . ?

L. C.

Answer: $35.00 is a bit steep. If you can locate a Goodrich you should get it for ten or fifteen, but locating it is the problem. Will advise next time I see one in a catalogue; it isn't often, though. Will write the editor about the volumes. (Answer forwarded from Editor Brigance):

. . . now about where someone could get those first two volumes on *The History and Criticism of American Public Address*, I feel totally helpless. You will recall that they were published during the war, in 1943, at a time when the government needed copper and all other such metals. After a few months the publisher surrendered the plates for war use. Before they did so I persuaded them—by heroic effort over three month's time—to run off a second printing, at the same time pointing out that even this second printing would be exhausted not later than 1954, and the demand for any such work as this would be reasonably steady for about twenty years. The supply was exhausted in 1953. I have received requests from people as far away as South Africa and New Zealand who hope that I might just have an extra copy. I doubt if any extra copies are going to be made available, simply because when some speech teacher dies, another speech teacher in his department is going to get first claim on his set. I have no idea what the going price would be, since none is going.

Some of these days the time will come for a facsimile printing of this work.

Cordially yours,
W. Norwood Brigance

INTERNATIONAL DEBATERS TOUR. The Institute of International Education and the SAA committee on international debate have announced an American debaters tour of Britain to start in January 1960. Applications of candidates will be received through January 1959. Write

to Betty Lee Walters (who has replaced Gerald Ippolito), Program Assistant, European Department, IOIE, 1 East 67th Street at Fifth Avenue, New York 21.

SOCIETY RECORDS

With all the interest shown in early debating societies by eager researchers, it is encouraging to discover, as in the case of the Princeton society reported earlier (last issue), archives faithfully preserved. We much admire the Oxford Union's faithfulness in keeping records since the founding in 1823. One can turn to the minutes of November 11, 1830, and see for himself Gladstone's minutes altered, a practice he condemned from the chair three weeks later when he became president. *Rules & Regulations of the Oxford Union Society* contains a list of all officers since the beginning, with annotations on what fate befell them. Sample: "The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone; Prime Minister, 1868-74, 1880-5, February to August, 1886, and 1892-4; M. P. for the University of Oxford." One J. Bryce, who was secretary, 1861-62, is identified in a note as: "The 1st Viscount Bryce, O. M., G. C. V. O.; President of the Board of Trade, 1894; Regius Professor of Civil Law, 1870-93; Chief Secretary for Ireland, 1906; Ambassador, U. S. A., 1907-13." The book is revised periodically; the last revision was in 1955. So we were pleased to learn upon inquiry of Mr. Leslie Crawte, Union Steward, that the latest revision will be out this month, and that he is sending us a copy. There is, of course, too, *The Oxford Union, 1823-1923*, by H. A. Morrah (London, etc., 1923), running to 326 pages, fully illustrated. The Cambridge Union Society, which dates from 1815, keeps its *Laws of the Society* up to date, the last revision being in 1957, but does not list past officers in the publication. Percy Cradock's *Recollections of the Cambridge Union* (Cambridge, 1953), however, gives all officers up to 1923. In answer to our inquiry, S. A. Elwood, Chief Clerk, has sent us the latest *Laws* and an illustrated bulletin about the society which is issued to prospective members.

Curious as to how fare some of our ancient and honorable societies, we invited several people to report. Here is the story we received from Wake Forest College.

THE EUZEALIAN AND THE PHILOMATHESIAN, 1835—

For the first three quarters of a century after the founding of Wake Forest College in 1832, the literary societies exerted a greater influence than any other student activity. The college in the early days was practically centered around the societies. Records have been well preserved, and there is an excellent history of the college, in which the societies, because of their importance, are treated in detail. To indicate the extent of records, I have documented this brief sketch here and there.

The first society, the Polemic Society, was organized during the first actual session of the new college in 1834. (T. H. Pritchard, "Brief History of the Literary Societies of Wake Forest College," *Wake Forest Student*, I, 60.) This, you will note, is but eleven years after the founding of the Oxford Union Society. In February 1835, two societies were formed to replace the Polemic Society. The new societies were named Euzealian and Philomathesian, the names they bear today. In the beginning, meetings were held fortnightly. Three lines of literary endeavor were sponsored by the early societies—debate, declamation, and essay. Practice in debating was conducted by appointing two disputants to represent each side when the question was announced. The first query used in the Euzealian Society was "Is there more pleasure in the pursuit than in the possession of an object?" The Philomathesian Society used a more serious topic, "Would it be policy in the United States to declare war against France?" [George Washington Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College* (3 vols.; Raleigh, 1935, I, 147).]

The societies are to be credited for providing the library facilities in the early days of the college. From the first, each society had its own library. When the first permanent college building was erected in 1837, the societies were given new halls. These new halls were provided with shelves around the walls for books, and regulations were made for lending these books. (Paschal, I, 157.)

The college reopened in January 1866, after the Civil War, and the societies immediately began meeting. How carefully they guarded against political entanglements is indicated by the subjects chosen for their debates. No questions on the late events were used. The subjects were usually historical questions of a past generation.

The golden age of the societies was in the two decades preceding the turn of the

century. In those days the societies met on Friday nights for debates, and on Saturday mornings for business, declamations, and reading of original essays. Intercollegiate debating at the College was begun in 1897. These debates, which were sponsored by the literary societies, drew such crowds that it was often difficult to find a hall large enough. Dr. H. B. Jones, a graduate of the class of 1910, tells me that he remembers the societies chartering a train when he was a debater in order that the student body and faculty could accompany the debating team to other colleges.

The real decline of the societies began in 1922 when social fraternities were legalized on the campus, and literary society membership was made optional by the faculty. (Paschal, II, 381.) Until this date membership in one or the other of the societies had been compulsory for all students.

After the destruction of the first permanent building of the College by fire in 1935, a new building was erected in its place. On the third floor of the new building, which was named Wait Hall, two large rooms were assigned as society halls. The Euzealian Hall was located on the southwest corner of the building and the Philomathesian on the northwest corner. Although not so large and elegant as their former halls, they were beautifully carpeted, with matching draperies at the windows, and equipped with about a hundred fifty chairs each.

In the new surroundings public speaking became the chief interest of the societies. Debating soon came under the direction of a faculty member, and the literary societies were no longer responsible for conducting intercollegiate debating. Each semester a series of contests was held by the two societies, and a banquet was held for presentation of awards. Competition remained keen for several years. The contests are still held, but sometimes the presentations are rather inferior, and the spirit of the nineteenth century is somewhat abated.

When Wake Forest moved 110 miles west of the old campus at Wake Forest, North Carolina, to its multi-million dollar campus in Winston-Salem in 1956, the literary societies were moved along with the other organizations. Two meeting rooms were provided in the student center portion of Reynolds Hall. Meetings are held twice a month with a program of speaking, or oral interpretation of literature. Often the speeches are on art, music, and literature. Debating is engaged in only on Society Day each semester, which is the time for all speaking contests between the two societies. There are approximately twenty students each semester in each society. Many of these are the children of former Euzealians or Philomathesians, who know little about speech departments, and know of no other way to obtain speech training. There are a few from speech classes who have been encouraged by the speech staff to take a part in this ancient and worthy activity.

Franklin R. Shirley
Wake Forest College

The nearest thing to a real literary society we have seen in contemporary society was a meeting of the Wrightonian and Philadelphian Societies at Illinois State Normal University, about ten years ago. There were debates, orations, recitations, interspersed with piano and vocal solos. A very cultural evening. Wondering how the societies fared, we wrote to Professor Holmes at Normal. Alas, the news is doleful; the societies perished just short of a century's existence. In a note of optimism, however, our reporter included a summary of a speech contest now four years into its second half century. Here are the reports.

LITERARY SOCIETIES AT ILLINOIS STATE NORMAL UNIVERSITY

Although many literary societies were begun during the first 95 years of the first century of Illinois State Normal University, only two maintained a program of annual contests, the Wrightonian and Philadelphian Societies. From their founding in the infant years of the institution, these societies held 88 annual contests.

In the early days of the societies, students applied for membership in the society of their choice, and after having tried out in their specialty, were initiated into the select ranks. During more recent times, the names of all new students were drawn for applications. To become an active member, an applicant had to perform well in a tryout.

For many years each of these societies maintained a "hall" in Old Main. Over

the years, stages had been built, seats supplied, and decorations provided by the societies. After the middle thirties, the press of increased enrollment made necessary the removal of the stages and the dividing of each "hall" into two classrooms.

During the last years in which the contests continued, the societies were kept alive by the active work of sponsors assigned by the administration. Occasionally, the societies developed enough enthusiasm to proceed under their own steam. Many innovations were introduced into the annual contests. However, by 1952 the enthusiasm for the traditional society rivalry had diminished to the point that artificial respiration provided by the administration through the sponsors could no longer sustain a spark of life. Two noble institutions which had contributed tremendously to the cultural development and the recreation of many generations of students passed quietly away.

THE EDWARDS MEDAL SPEECH CONTESTS

For many years, students from Illinois State Normal University represented their school in the Interstate Normal School Speech Contests. Two divisions, one in original oration and the other in declamation (recitation of scenes from dramatic literature), were customary in 1904. In this year, an unknown donor presented medals for the winners of these two divisions in the local contest and had the event named in honor of Richard Edwards, second president of the normal school.

In 1905, children of President Edwards provided the medals, and since that time, the children, then grandchildren, and more recently one great grandson have continued to provide the medals for the winners of two divisions in the annual contest.

In 1953, the 50th, and this year, the 55th Annual Edwards Medal Speech Contests were held. During the early thirties one change was made in the nature of the contests. The declamation was replaced with verse reading. Each year, prospective verse readers work together on selections for the contest. In the final contest, the verse readers read a poem, or poems, of their own choice and a required selection, frequently a sonnet. In the original oration section, the participants are usually the college students who have represented their college in original oration in the Illinois Intercollegiate Oratorical Association contests.

Each year arrangements have been made with a representative of the Edwards family, for many years Mr. Richard Dix Edwards of Kansas City, who succeeded his father as the family representative, for the casting of the medals. The medals are of a special artistic design, beautiful to behold. They are very much cherished by the numerous winners.

During the existence of the contest two persons have doubled in the contests, becoming winners of a medal in each division, Clarence Miller, now a professor of drama in San Francisco State College, and Mrs. Martha Jacobus Sarantokas, a recent graduate, who lives in Normal.

During 1957 and 1958 a Speech Day was held in connnection with the Edwards Medal Speech Contests. A well-known speech educator was invited to the campus to talk and to serve as judge of the contests.

This particular speech contest has survived because of the local interest in maintaining a worthwhile pattern and of the generosity of the descendants of the second president of Illinois State Normal University, Richard Edwards.

F. Lincoln D. Holmes
Illinois State Normal University

Ad Libs From The Ph.D. Survey

In a school with many M.D.'s, the use of "doctor" leads to no end of confusion, but is apt to facilitate materially a call to the hospital.

I have been addressed as doctor for twenty-five years. Now that I have just received a Ph.D. degree. I presume I shall continue to be called doctor.

Only new Ph.D.'s glow when addressed as doctor.

The rule in our department is to doctor to death anybody receiving a new Ph.D., for six months after he is crowned. Thereafter he is Mr.

Women prefer not to use the title, but I fear most men like it.

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